

THE

WORKS

OF

ROGER ASCHAM.



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THE
ENGLISH WORKS
OF
ROGER ASCHAM,
PRECEPTOR to QUEEN ELIZABETH:

CONTAINING,

- I. A REPORT of the AFFAIRS of GERMANY, and the Emperor CHARLES the FIFTH'S COURT.
- II. TOXOPHILUS, or the SCHOOL of SHOOTING.
- III. The SCHOOLMASTER, or perfect Way of bringing up Youth, illustrated by the late learned Mr. UPTON.
- IV. LETTERS to Queen ELIZABETH and others, now first published from the Manuscripts.

With NOTES and OBSERVATIONS, and the AUTHOR'S LIFE.

By JAMES BENNET,

Master of the Boarding-School at HODDESDON in HERTFORDSHIRE.

L O N D O N :

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THE
ENGLISH WORKS

OF
ROGER ASCHAM

PUBLISHED BY J. B. ALLEN

NEW YORK





To propagate the works of such a writer will be not un-
worthy of your Lordship's patronage: for I know not what
greater benefit you can confer on your country, than that of
preserving worthy names from oblivion, by joining them with

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

ANTHONY ASHLEY COOPER,

Earl of SHAFTESBURY, Baron ASHLEY, LORD
LIEUTENANT and CUSTOS ROTULORUM
of DORSETSHIRE, F. R. S.

My LORD,

HAVING endeavoured, by an elegant and useful edition, to
recover the esteem of the publick to an authour unde-
servedly neglected, the only care which I now owe to his me-
mory,

mory, is that of inscribing his works to a patron whose acknowledged eminence of character may awaken attention, and attract regard.

I have not suffered the zeal of an editor so far to take possession of my mind, as that I should obtrude upon your Lordship any productions unsuitable to the dignity of your rank or of your sentiments. *Ascham* was not only the chief ornament of a celebrated college, but visited foreign countries, frequented courts, and lived in familiarity with statesmen and princes; not only instructed scholars in literature, but formed *Elizabeth* to empire.

To propagate the works of such a writer will be not unworthy of your Lordship's patriotism: for I know not what greater benefit you can confer on your country, than that of preserving worthy names from oblivion, by joining them with your own.

I am,

My LORD,

Your Lordship's

Most obliged,

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Most humble servant,

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L I F E
O F
R O G E R A S C H A M.

IT often happens to writers, that they are known only by their works; the incidents of a literary life are seldom observed, and therefore seldom recounted; but *Ascham* has escaped the common fate by the friendship of *Edward Graunt*, the learned master of *Westminster* school, who devoted an oration to his memory, and has marked the various vicissitudes of his fortune. *Graunt* either avoided the labour of minute inquiry, or thought domestick occurrences unworthy of his notice; or preferring the character of an orator to that of an historian, selected only such particulars as he could best express, or most happily embellish. His narrative is therefore scanty, and I know not by what materials it can now be amplified.

Roger Ascham was born in the year 1515, at *Kirby Wiske*, (or *Kirby Wicke*) a village near *Northallerton* in *Yorkshire*, of a family above the vulgar. His father *John Ascham* was house-steward in the family of *Scroop*, and in that age, when the different orders of men were at a greater distance from each other, and the manners of gentlemen were regularly formed by menial services in great houses, lived with a very conspicuous reputation. *Margaret Ascham*, his wife, is said to have
b been

been allied to many considerable families, but her maiden name is not recorded. She had three sons, of whom *Roger* was the youngest, and some daughters; but who can hope, that of any progeny more than one shall deserve to be mentioned? They lived married sixty-seven years, and at last died together almost on the same hour of the same day.

Roger having passed his first years under the care of his parents, was adopted into the family of *Antony Wingfield*, who maintained him, and committed his education, with that of his own sons, to the care of one *Bond*, a domestick tutor. He very early discovered an unusual fondness for literature by an eager perusal of *English* books, and having passed happily through the scholastick rudiments, was put, in 1530, by his patron *Wingfield*, to *St. John's* college in *Cambridge*.

Ascham entered *Cambridge* at a time when the last great revolution of the intellectual world was filling every academical mind with ardour or anxiety. The destruction of the *Constantinopolitan* empire had driven the *Greeks* with their language into the interior parts of *Europe*, the art of printing had made the books easily attainable, and *Greek* now began to be taught in *England*. The doctrines of *Luther* had already filled all the nations of the *Romish* communion with controversy and dissention. New studies of literature, and new tenets of religion, found employment for all who were desirous of truth, or ambitious of fame. Learning was at that time prosecuted with that eagerness and perseverance which in this age of indifference and dissipation it is not easy to conceive. To teach or to learn was at once the business and the pleasure of the academical life; and an emulation of study was raised by *Croke* and *Smith*, to which even the present age perhaps owes many advantages, without remembering or knowing its benefactors.

Ascham soon resolved to unite himself to those who were enlarging the bounds of knowledge, and immediately upon his admission into the college, applied himself to the study of *Greek*. Those who were zealous for the new learning, were often no great friends to the old religion; and *Ascham*, as he became a *Grecian*, became a protestant. The reformation was not yet begun, disaffection to popery was considered as a crime justly punished by exclusion from favour and preferment,
and

and was not yet openly professed, though superstition was gradually losing its hold upon the publick. The study of *Greek* was reputable enough, and *Ascham* pursued it with diligence and success equally conspicuous. He thought a language might be most easily learned by teaching it; and when he had obtained some proficiency in *Greek*, read lectures, while he was yet a boy, to other boys who were desirous of instruction. His industry was much encouraged by *Pember*, a man of great eminence at that time, though I know not that he has left any monuments behind him, but what the gratitude of his friends and scholars has bestowed. He was one of the great encouragers of *Greek* learning, and particularly applauded *Ascham's* lectures, assuring him in a letter, of which *Graunt* has preserved an extract, that he would gain more knowledge by explaining one of *Æsop's* fables to a boy, than by hearing one of *Homer's* poems explained by another.

Ascham took his bachelor's degree in 1534, *February* 18, in the eighteenth year of his age; a time of life at which it is more common now to enter the universities than to take degrees, but which, according to the modes of education then in use, had nothing of remarkable prematurity. On the 23d of *March* following, he was chosen fellow of the college; which election he considered as a second birth. Dr. *Metcalf*, the master of the college, a man, as *Ascham* tells us, *meanly learned himself, but no mean encourager of learning in others*, clandestinely promoted his election, though he openly seemed first to oppose it, and afterwards to censure it, because *Ascham* was known to favour the new opinions; and the master himself was accused of giving an unjust preference to the northern men, one of the factions into which this nation was divided, before we could find any more important reason of dissention, than that some were born on the northern and some on the southern side of *Trent*. Any cause is sufficient for a quarrel, and the zealots of the north and south lived long in such animosity, that it was thought necessary at *Oxford* to keep them quiet by chusing one proctor every year from each.

He seems to have been hitherto supported by the bounty of *Wingfield*, which his attainment of a fellowship now freed him from the necessity of receiving. Dependence, though in those days it was more common, and therefore less irksome than in the present state of things, can never

have been free from discontent; and therefore he that was released from it must always have rejoiced. The danger is, lest the joy of escaping from the patron may not leave sufficient memory of the benefactor. Of this forgetfulness *Ascham* cannot be accused; for he is recorded to have preserved the most grateful and affectionate reverence for *Wingfield*, and to have never grown weary of recounting his benefits.

His reputation still increased, and many resorted to his chamber to hear the *Greek* writers explained. He was likewise eminent for other accomplishments. By the advice of *Pember*, he had learned to play on musical instruments, and he was one of the few who excelled in the mechanical art of writing, which then began to be cultivated among us, and in which we now surpass all other nations. He not only wrote his pages with neatness, but embellished them with elegant draughts and illuminations; an art at that time so highly valued, that it contributed much both to his fame and his fortune.

He became master of arts in *March* 1537, in his twenty-first year; and then, if not before, commenced tutor, and publicly undertook the education of young men. A tutor of one and twenty, however accomplished with learning, however exalted by genius, would now gain little reverence or obedience; but in those days of discipline and regularity, the authority of the statutes easily supplied that of the teacher; all power that was lawful was revered. Besides, young tutors had still younger pupils.

Ascham is said to have courted his scholars to study by every incitement, to have treated them with great kindness, and to have taken care at once to instill learning and piety, to enlighten their minds and to form their manners. Many of his scholars rose to great eminence, and among them *William Grindal* was so much distinguished, that by *Cheke's* recommendation he was called to court as a proper master of languages for the lady *Elizabeth*.

There was yet no established lecturer of *Greek*; the university therefore appointed *Ascham* to read in the open schools, and paid him out of the publick purse an honorary stipend, such as was then reckoned sufficiently liberal:

liberal: a lecture was afterwards founded by King *Henry*, and he then quitted the schools, but continued to explain *Greek* authours in his own college.

He was at first an opponent of the new pronunciation introduced, or rather of the ancient restored about this time by *Cheke* and *Smith*, and made some cautious struggles for the common practice, which the credit and dignity of his antagonists did not permit to defend very publicly, or with much vehemence: nor were they long his antagonists; for either his affection for their merit, or his conviction of the cogency of their arguments, soon changed his opinion and his practice, and he adhered ever after to their method of utterance.

Of this controversy it is not necessary to give a circumstantial account; something of it may be found in *Strype's* Life of *Smith*, and something in *Baker's* Reflexions upon learning: it is sufficient to remark here, that *Cheke's* pronunciation was that which now prevails in the schools of *England*. Disquisitions not only verbal, but merely literal, are too minute for popular narration.

He was not less eminent as a writer of *Latin*, than as a teacher of *Greek*. All the publick letters of the university were of his composition; and as little qualifications must often bring great abilities into notice, he was recommended to this honourable employment not less by the neatness of his hand, than the elegance of his style.

However great was his learning, he was not always immured in his chamber; but being valetudinary, and weak of body, thought it necessary to spend many hours in such exercises as might best relieve him after the fatigue of study. His favourite amusement was archery, in which he spent, or, in the opinion of others, lost so much time, that those whom either his faults or virtues made his enemies, and perhaps some whose kindness wished him always worthily employed, did not scruple to censure his practice, as unsuitable to a man professing learning, and perhaps of bad example in a place of education.

To free himself from this censure was one of the reasons for which he published, in 1544, his *Toxophilus*, or the Schole or Partitions of Shooting,

Shooting, in which he joins the praise with the precepts of archery. He designed not only to teach the art of shooting, but to give an example of diction more natural and more truly *English* than was used by the common writers of that age, whom he censures for mingling exotick terms with their native language, and of whom he complains, that they were made authours not by skill or education, but by arrogance and temerity.

He has not failed in either of his purposes. He has sufficiently vindicated archery as an innocent, salutary, useful, and liberal diversion; and if his precepts are of no great use, he has only shown by one example among many, how little the hand can derive from the mind, how little intelligence can conduce to dexterity. In every art practice is much; in arts manual practice is almost the whole. Precept can at most but warn against error, it can never bestow excellence.

The bow has been so long disused, that most *English* readers have forgotten its importance, though it was the weapon by which we gained the battle of *Agincourt*, a weapon which when handled by *English* yeomen, no foreign troops were able to resist. We were not only abler of body than the *French*, and therefore superiour in the use of arms, which are forcible only in proportion to the strength with which they are handled, but the national practice of shooting for pleasure or for prizes, by which every man was inured to archery from his infancy, gave us insuperable advantage, the bow requiring more practice to skilful use than any other instrument of offence.

Fire-arms were then in their infancy; and though battering pieces had been some time in use, I know not whether any soldiers were armed with hand-guns when the *Toxophilus* was first published: they were soon after used by the *Spanish* troops, whom other nations made haste to imitate: but how little they could yet effect, will be understood from the account given by the ingenious authour of the exercise for the *Norfolk* militia.

“ The first muskets were very heavy, and could not be fired without
 “ a rest; they had match-locks, and barrels of a wide bore, that car-
 “ ried

“ ried a large ball and charge of powder, and did execution at a greater
“ distance.

“ The musketeers on a march carried only their rests and ammuni-
“ tion, and had boys to bear their muskets after them, for which they
“ were allowed great additional pay.

“ They were very slow in loading, not only by reason of the un-
“ wieldiness of the pieces, and because they carried the powder and
“ balls separate, but from the time it took to prepare and adjust the
“ match ; so that their fire was not near so brisk as ours is now. Af-
“ terwards a lighter kind of match-lock musket came into use, and they
“ carried their ammunition in bandeliers, which were broad belts that
“ came over the shoulder, to which were hung several little cases of
“ wood covered with leather, each containing a charge of powder ; the
“ balls they carried loose in a pouch ; and they had also a priming horn
“ hanging by their side.

“ The old *English* writers call those large muskets calivers : the har-
“ quebuze was a lighter piece, that could be fired without a rest. The
“ match-lock was fired by a match fixed by a kind of tongs in the fer-
“ pentine or cock, which by pulling the trigger, was brought down
“ with great quickness upon the priming in the pan ; over which there
“ was a sliding cover, which was drawn back by the hand just at the
“ time of firing. There was a great deal of nicety and care required
“ to fit the match properly to the cock, so as to come down exactly true
“ on the priming, to blow the ashes from the coal, and to guard the
“ pan from the sparks that fell from it. A great deal of time was also
“ lost in taking it out of the cock, and returning it between the fingers
“ of the left hand every time that the piece was fired ; and wet weather
“ often rendered the matches useless.”

While this was the state of fire-arms, and this state continued among
us to the civil war with very little improvement, it is no wonder that
the long bow was preferred by Sir *John Smith*, who wrote of the choice
of weapons in the reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, when the use of the bow
still continued, though the musket was gradually prevailing. Sir *John*
Hayward,

Hayward, a writer yet later, has in his history of the *Norman* kings endeavoured to evince the superiority of the archer to the musketeer: however, in the long peace of King *James*, the bow was wholly forgotten. Guns have from that time been the weapons of the *English*, as of other nations, and as they are now improved, are certainly more efficacious.

Ascham had yet another reason, if not for writing his book, at least for presenting it to King *Henry*. *England* was not then what it may be now justly termed, the capital of literature, and therefore those who aspired to superiour degrees of excellence thought it necessary to travel into other countries. The purse of *Ascham* was not equal to the expence of peregrination; and therefore he hoped to have it augmented by a pension. Nor was he wholly disappointed; for the King rewarded him with an yearly payment of ten pounds.

A pension of ten pounds granted by a king of *England* to a man of letters, appears to modern readers so contemptible a benefaction, that it is not unworthy of enquiry what might be its value at that time, and how much *Ascham* might be enriched by it. Nothing is more uncertain than the estimation of wealth by denominated money; the precious metals never retain long the same proportion to real commodities, and the same names in different ages do not imply the same quantity of metal; so that it is equally difficult to know how much money was contained in any nominal sum, and to find what any supposed quantity of gold or silver would purchase; both which are necessary to the commensuration of money, or the adjustment of proportion between the same sums at different periods of time.

A numeral pound in King *Henry's* time contained, as now, twenty shillings; and therefore it must be inquired what twenty shillings could perform. Bread-corn is the most certain standard of the necessaries of life. Wheat was generally sold at that time for one shilling the bushel: if therefore we take five shillings the bushel for the current price, ten pounds were equivalent to fifty. But here is danger of a fallacy. It may be doubted, whether wheat was the general bread-corn of that age; and if rye, barley, or oats, were the common food, and wheat, as I suspect,

suspect, only a delicacy, the value of wheat will not regulate the price of other things. This doubt is however in favour of *Ascham*; for if we raise the worth of wheat, we raise that of his pension.

But the value of money has another variation, which we are still less able to ascertain: the rules of custom or the different needs of artificial life, make that revenue little at one time which is great at another. Men are rich and poor, not only in proportion to what they have, but to what they want. In some ages, not only necessaries are cheaper, but fewer things are necessary. In the age of *Ascham*, most of the elegancies and expences of our present fashions were unknown: commerce had not yet distributed superfluity through the lower classes of the people, and the character of a student implied frugality, and required no splendour to support it. His pension, therefore, reckoning together the wants which he could supply, and the wants from which he was exempt, may be estimated, in my opinion, at more than one hundred pounds a-year; which, added to the income of his fellowship, put him far enough above distress.

This was an year of good fortune to *Ascham*. He was chosen orator to the university on the removal of Sir *John Cbeke* to court, where he was made tutor to Prince *Edward*. A man once distinguished soon gains admirers. *Ascham* was now received to notice by many of the nobility, and by great ladies, among whom it was then the fashion to study the ancient languages. *Lee* archbishop of *York* allowed him an yearly pension; how much, we are not told. He was, probably about this time, employed in teaching many illustrious persons to write a fine hand, and among others *Henry* and *Charles*, dukes of *Sussex*, the princess *Elizabeth*, and prince *Edward*.

Henry VIII. died two years after, and a reformation of religion being now openly prosecuted by King *Edward* and his council, *Ascham*, who was known to favour it, had a new grant of his pension, and continued at *Cambridge*, where he lived in great familiarity with *Bucer*, who had been called from *Germany* to the professorship of divinity. But his retirement was soon at an end; for in 1548 his pupil *Grindal*, the master

of the princess *Elizabeth*, died, and the princess, who had already some acquaintance with *Ascham*, called him from his college to direct her studies. He obeyed the summons, as we may easily believe, with readiness, and for two years instructed her with great diligence; but then being disgusted either by her or her domesticks, or perhaps eager for another change of life, he left her without her consent, and returned to the university. Of this precipitation he long repented; and as those who are not accustomed to disrespect, cannot easily forgive it, he probably felt the effects of his imprudence to his death.

After having visited *Cambridge*, he took a journey into *Yorkshire* to see his native place and his old acquaintance, and there received a letter from the court, informing him, that he was appointed secretary to Sir *Richard Morisne*, who was to be dispatched as ambassador into *Germany*. In his return to *London* he paid that memorable visit to lady *Jane Gray*, in which he found her reading the *Phædo* in *Greek*, as he has related in his *Schoolmaster*.

In the year 1550 he attended *Morisne* to *Germany*, and wandered over a great part of the country, making observations upon all that appeared worthy of his curiosity, and contracting acquaintance with men of learning. To his correspondent *Sturmius* he paid a visit, but *Sturmius* was not at home, and those two illustrious friends never saw each other. During the course of this embassy, *Ascham* undertook to improve *Morisne* in *Greek*, and for four days in the week explained some pages of *Herodotus* every morning, and more than two hundred verses of *Sophocles* or *Euripides* every afternoon. He read with him likewise some of the orations of *Demosthenes*. On the other days he compiled the letters of business, and in the night filled up his diary, digested his remarks, and wrote private letters to his friends in *England*, and particularly to those of his college, whom he continually exhorted to perseverance in study. Amidst all the pleasures of novelty, which his travels supplied, and in the dignity of his publick station, he preferred the tranquillity of private study, and the quiet of academical retirement. The reasonableness of this choice has been always disputed; and in the contrariety of human interests and dispositions, the controversy will not easily be decided.

He made a short excursion into *Italy*, and mentions in his *Schoolmaster* with great severity the vices of *Venice*. He was desirous of visiting *Trent* while the council were sitting; but the scantiness of his purse defeated his curiosity.

In this journey he wrote his *Report and Discourse of the Affaires in Germany*, in which he describes the dispositions and interests of the *German* princes like a man inquisitive and judicious, and recounts many particularities which are lost in the mass of general history, in a style which to the ears of that age was undoubtedly mellifluous, and which is now a very valuable specimen of genuine *English*.

By the death of King *Edward* in 1553, the reformation was stopped, *Morifine* was recalled, and *Ascham's* pension and hopes were at an end. He therefore retired to his fellowship in a state of disappointment and despair, which his biographer has endeavoured to express in the deepest strain of plaintive declamation. *He was deprived of all his support, says Graunt, stripped of his pension, and cut off from the assistance of his friends, who had now lost their influence; so that he had* NEC PRÆMIA NEC PRÆDIA, *neither pension nor estate to support him at Cambridge.* There is no credit due to a rhetorician's account either of good or evil. The truth is, that *Ascham* still had in his fellowship all that in the early part of his life had given him plenty, and might have lived like the other inhabitants of the college, with the advantage of more knowledge and higher reputation. But notwithstanding his love of academical retirement, he had now too long enjoyed the pleasures and festivities of publick life, to return with a good will to academical poverty.

He had however better fortune than he expected, and, if he lamented his condition like his historian, better than he deserved. He had during his absence in *Germany* been appointed *Latin* secretary to King *Edward*; and by the interest of *Gardiner* bishop of *Winchester*, he was instated in the same office under *Philip* and *Mary*, with a salary of twenty pounds a-year.

Soon after his admission to his new employment, he gave an extraordinary specimen of his abilities and diligence, by composing and transcribing

scribing with his usual elegance, in three days, forty-seven letters to princes and personages, of whom cardinals were the lowest.

How *Ascham*, who was known to be a protestant, could preserve the favour of *Gardiner*, and hold a place of honour and profit in Queen *Mary's* court, it must be very natural to inquire. *Cheke*, as is well known, was compelled to a recantation; and why *Ascham* was spared, cannot now be discovered. *Graunt*, at a time when the transactions of Queen *Mary's* reign must have been well enough remembered, declares, that *Ascham* always made open profession of the reformed religion, and that *Englesfield* and others often endeavoured to incite *Gardiner* against him, but found their accusations rejected with contempt: yet he allows, that suspicions and charges of temporization and compliance had somewhat sullied his reputation. The authour of the *Biographia Britannica* conjectures, that he owed his safety to his innocence and usefulness; that it would have been unpopular to attack a man so little liable to censure, and that the loss of his pen could not have been easily supplied. But the truth is, that morality was never suffered in the days of persecution to protect heresy; nor are we sure that *Ascham* was more clear from common failings than those who suffered more; and whatever might be his abilities, they were not so necessary but *Gardiner* could have easily filled his place with another secretary. Nothing is more vain, than at a distant time to examine the motives of discrimination and partiality; for the inquirer having considered interest and policy, is obliged at last to omit more frequent and more active motives of human conduct, caprice, accident, and private affections.

At that time, if some were punished, many were forborn; and of many why should not *Ascham* happen to be one? He seems to have been calm and prudent, and content with that peace which he was suffered to enjoy; a mode of behaviour that seldom fails to produce security. He had been abroad in the last years of King *Edward*, and had at least given no recent offence. He was certainly, according to his own opinion, not much in danger; for in the next year he resigned his fellowship, which by *Gardiner's* favour he had continued to hold, though not resident; and married *Margaret Howe*, a young gentlewoman of a good family.

He

He was distinguished in this reign by the notice of Cardinal *Poole*, a man of great candour, learning, and gentleness of manners, and particularly eminent for his skill in *Latin*, who thought highly of *Ascham's* style; of which it is no inconsiderable proof, that when *Poole* was desirous of communicating a speech made by himself as legate, in parliament, to the Pope, he employed *Ascham* to translate it.

He is said to have been not only protected by the officers of state, but favoured and countenanced by the Queen herself; so that he had no reason of complaint in that reign of turbulence and persecution: nor was his fortune much mended, when in 1558 his pupil *Elizabeth* mounted the throne. He was continued in his former employment, with the same stipend: but though he was daily admitted to the presence of the Queen, assisted her private studies, and partook of her diversions; sometimes read to her in the learned languages, and sometimes played with her at draughts and chess; he added nothing to his twenty pounds a-year but the prebend of *Westwang* in the church of *York*, which was given him the year following. His fortune was therefore not proportionate to the rank which his offices and reputation gave him, or to the favour in which he seemed to stand with his mistress. Of this parsimonious allotment it is again a hopeless search to inquire the reason. The Queen was not naturally bountiful, and perhaps did not think it necessary to distinguish by any prodigality of kindness a man who had formerly deserted her, and whom she might still suspect of serving rather for interest than affection. *Graunt* exerts his rhetorical powers in praise of *Ascham's* disinterestedness and contempt of money; and declares, that though he was often reproached by his friends with neglect of his own interest, he never would ask any thing, and inflexibly refused all presents which his office or imagined interest induced any to offer him. *Camden*, however, imputes the narrowness of his condition to his love of dice and cock-fights: and *Graunt* forgetting himself, allows that *Ascham* was sometimes thrown into agonies by disappointed expectations. It may be easily discovered from his *Schoolmaster*, that he felt his wants, though he might neglect to supply them; and we are left to suspect, that he shewed his contempt of money only by losing it at play. If this was his practice, we may excuse *Elizabeth*, who knew the domestick character of her servants, if she did not give much to him who was lavish of a little.

However

However he might fail in his œconomy, it were indecent to treat with wanton levity the memory of a man who shared his frailties with all, but whose learning or virtues few can attain, and by whose excellencies many may be improved, while himself only suffered by his faults.

In the reign of *Elizabeth* nothing remarkable is known to have befallen him, except that, in 1563, he was invited by Sir *Edward Sackville* to write the *Schoolmaster*, a treatise on education, upon an occasion which he relates in the beginning of the book. This work, though begun with alacrity, in hopes of a considerable reward, was interrupted by the death of the patron, and afterwards sorrowfully and slowly finished, in the gloom of disappointment, under the pressure of distress. But of the authour's disinclination or dejection there can be found no tokens in the work, which is conceived with great vigour, and finished with great accuracy; and perhaps contains the best advice that was ever given for the study of languages.

This treatise he compleated, but did not publish; for that poverty which in our days drives authours so hastily in such numbers to the press, in the time of *Ascham*, I believe, debarred them from it. The printers gave little for a copy, and, if we may believe the tale of *Raleigh's* history, were not forward to print what was offered them for nothing. *Ascham's* book therefore lay unseen in his study, and was at last dedicated to Lord *Cecil* by his widow.

Ascham never had a robust or vigorous body, and his excuse for so many hours of diversion was his inability to endure a long continuance of sedentary thought. In the latter part of his life he found it necessary to forbear any intense application of the mind from dinner to bed-time, and rose to read and write early in the morning. He was for some years hectically feverish; and though he found some alleviation of his distemper, never obtained a perfect recovery of his health. The immediate cause of his last sickness was too close application to the composition of a poem, which he purposed to present to the Queen on the day of her accession. To finish this he forbore to sleep at his accustomed hours, till in *December* 1568 he fell sick of a kind of lingering disease, which *Graunt* has not named, nor accurately described. The most afflictive

fictive symptom was want of sleep, which he endeavoured to obtain by the motion of a cradle. Growing every day weaker, he found it vain to contend with his distemper, and prepared to die with the resignation and piety of a true Christian. He was attended on his deathbed by *Gravet* vicar of St. *Sepulchre*, and Dr. *Nowel*, the learned dean of St. *Paul's*, who gave ample testimony to the decency and devotion of his concluding life. He frequently testified his desire of that dissolution which he soon obtained. His funeral-sermon was preached by Dr. *Nowel*.

Roger Ascham died in the fifty-third year of his age, at a time when, according to the general course of life, much might yet have been expected from him, and when he might have hoped for much from others: but his abilities and his wants were at an end together; and who can determine, whether he was cut off from advantages, or rescued from calamities? He appears to have been not much qualified for the improvement of his fortune. His disposition was kind and social; he delighted in the pleasures of conversation, and was probably not much inclined to business. This may be suspected from the paucity of his writings. He has left little behind him, and of that little nothing was published by himself but the *Toxophilus*, and the account of *Germany*. The *Schoolmaster* was printed by his widow, and the Epistles were collected by *Graunt*, who dedicated them to Queen *Elizabeth*, that he might have an opportunity of recommending his son *Giles Ascham* to her patronage. The dedication was not lost: the young man was made by the Queen's mandate fellow of a college in *Cambridge*, where he obtained considerable reputation. What was the effect of his widow's dedication to *Cecil*, is not known: it may be hoped that *Ascham's* works obtained for his family, after his decease, that support which he did not in his life very plenteously procure them.

Whether he was poor by his own fault or the fault of others, cannot now be decided; but it is certain that many have been rich with less merit. His philological learning would have gained him honour in any country, and among us it may justly call for that reverence which all nations owe to those who first rouse them from ignorance, and kindle among them the light of literature. Of his manners nothing can be
said

said but from his own testimony and that of his contemporaries. Those who mention him allow him many virtues. His courtesy, benevolence, and liberality, are celebrated; and of his piety we have not only the testimony of his friends, but the evidence of his writings.

That his *English* works have been so long neglected, is a proof of the uncertainty of literary fame. He was scarcely known as an authour in his own language till Mr. *Upton* published his *Schoolmaster* with learned notes, which are inserted in this edition. His other pieces were read only by those few who delight in obsolete books; but as they are now collected into one volume, with the addition of some letters never printed before, the publick has an opportunity of recompensing the injury, and allotting *Ascham* the reputation due to his knowledge and his eloquence.

A REPORT

A

REPORT and DISCOURSE

Written by R O G E R A S C H A M, of the Affaires and State
of *Germany* and the Emperour *Charles* his Court, during
certaine Yeares while the sayd R O G E R was there.

AT LONDON

Printed by JOHN DAYE, dwelling ouer ALDERSGATE.

Cum Gratia & Priuilegio Regiæ Maiestatis, per Decennium.

B

REPORT OF THE DISTRICT

OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
FOR THE YEAR 1900

1900

THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

1900

JOHN ASTELY to R. ASCHAM.

I Now finde true by experience, which I have oft heard of others, and sometymes read my felfe: that men make no such accompt of commodities when they haue them, as when they want them. I meane this by our friendly fellowship together at *Cheston Chelfey*, and here at *Hatfield* her graces house: our pleasant studies in readyng together *Aristotles Rhetorike*, *Cicero*, and *Liuius*, our free talke mingled alwayes with honest mirth, our trimme conferences of that present world, and too true iudgementes of the troublesome tyme that followed.

These commodities I now remember with some grief, which we then vsed with much pleasure, besides many other fruites of frendshyp that faythful good will could affourd. And these thinckynge cause me oft to wish, either you to be here with vs, or me to be there with you: but what wishyng is nothyng els but a vayne waylyng for that which will wanteth. I wil cease from wishyng, and seeke the true remedy for this fore: And that is whilest we meet agayne in deede, in the meane while to ease our desires with oft writyng the one to the other. I would in deede I had been partaker in your company, of that your pleasaunt absence out of your countrey: and because I was not, I pray you let me be partaker by your Letters of some fruite of that your iourney.

We heare of great sturres in those parties: and how the Emperour, a Prince of great wisedome and great power, hath bene driuen to extreme shiftes, and that by the pollicie of mean men who were thought to be hys frendes, and not by the puisantnes of others who were knowne to be his open enemyes. I know you were wont in markyng diligently and notyng truely all such great affaires: And you know lykwise how desirous I am alwayes to read any thing that you write. Write therefore I pray you, that we your frendes beyng at home may enioye by your
B 2 letters

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letters a pleasant memory of you in that tyme whilest you be absent abroad. Farewell in *Christ*, from *Hatfield* XIX. *Octobris* 1552.

R. ASCHAM to JOHN ASTELY.

SALUTEM Plurimam in Christo Jesu. That part of your Letter from *Hatfield*, decimo nono Octob. renewing a most pleasaunt memory of our frendly fellowship together, and full of your wonted good will towards me: I aunswered immediatly from *Spires* by *Fraunces* the Post: whiche letter if it be not yet come to your hand, ye might have heard tell of it in M. Secretary *Cicels* chamber in the Court.

As concernyng the other part of your letter, for your wish, to haue bene with me, in this mine absence from my Countrey: and for your request, to be made partaker by my letters of the sturre of these times here in *Germany*. Surely I would you had your wish: for then should not I now nede to bungle up yours so great a request, when presently you should haue sene with much pleasure, which now peradventure you shall read * with some doubt, lesse thynges may encrease by writyng which were so great in doying, as I am more afrayd to leaue behind me much of the matter, than to gather vp more than hath sprong of the trouth.

Your request conteineth few wordes but comprehendeth both great and diuers matters. As first the causes of the open inuasion by the *Turke*: of the secret working for such soddeyne brecheffe in *Italy*, and *Germany*: of the fine fetches in the *French* practises: of the double dealing of *Rome* with all partes: then more particular why Duke *Ostauio*, the Prince of *Salerno*, Marches *Albert*, and Duke *Maurice* brake so out with the Emperour, which were all so fast knit vnto hym as the bondes of affinitie, loyaltie, bloud, and benefites could assure him of them: *Ostauio* being his Sonne in law, the Prince one of hys priuy chamber, Marches *Albert* hys kynsman, and Duke *Maurice* so inhaunfed with honor and enriched with benefites by hym, as the Duke could not haue wished greater in hope, then the Emperour performed in deede. Here is stufte

* *With some doubt, lesse, &c.*] That is, with some doubt lest I should have magnified in my narrative things that were so great in real action.

plenty to furnish well up a trimme history if a workeman hath it in handlyng. When you and I read *Liuius* together if you do remember, after some reasonyng we concluded both what was in our opinion to be looked for at his hand that would well and aduisedly write an history: First point was, to write nothyng false: next, to be bold to say any truth, whereby is auoyded two great faultes, flattery and hatred: for which two pointes *Cæsar* is read to hys great Prayse, and *Iouius* the *Ita-* C. Cæsar.
lian to hys iust reproch. Then to marke diligently the causes, counsels, P. Iouius.
 actes, and issues in all great attemptes: And in causes, which is iust or vniust: in counseles, what is proposed wisely or rashly: in actes, what is done couragiously or fayntly: And of euery issue, to note some generall lesson of wisdom and warines, for lyke matters in time to come: wherin *Polybius* in *Greeke* and *Phillip Comines* in *French* haue done the Polybius.
 duties of wyse and worthy writers. Diligence also must be vsed in kep- Phi. Comi-
 yng truly the order of tyme: and describyng lyuely, both the site of nes.
 places and nature of persons, not only for the outward shape of the Body, but also for the inward disposition of the Mynde as *Thucydides* Thucydides.
 doth in many places very trimly, and *Homer* every where and that al- Homer.
 wayes most excellently, which observation is chiefly to be marked in hym; and our *Chaucer* doth the same, very praise worthely: marke Chaucer.
 hym well and conferre hym with any other that writeth of in our tyme in their proudest tounge whosoever lyst. Yet sometime higher and lower as matters do ryse and fall: for if proper and natural wordes, in well ioyned sentences do lyuely expresse the matter, be it troublesome, quyet, angrey or pleasant, a man shal thincke not to be readyng but present in goyng of the same. And herein *Liuius* of all other in any tounge, by Titus
 myne opinion carieth away the prayse. Liuius.

Syr *Thomas More* in that pamphlet of *Richard* the thyrd, doth in most Tho. Morus.
 part I beleue of all these pointes so content all men, as if the rest of our story of *England* were so done, we might well compare with *France*, *Italy*, or *Germany* or in that behalfe. But see how the pleasant remembrance of our old talk together hath caried me farther than I thought to go. And as for your request to know the cause and maner of these late sturres here ye shall not looke for such precise order now in writyng, as we talked on then. No it is not all one thing to know perfectly by reading and to performe perfectly in doying. I am not so vnadvised to take so much upon me, nor you so unfrendly to looke for so much from me.

me. But that you may know that I haue not bene altogether idle in this my absence, and that I will not come home as one that can say nothing of that he hath sene and heard abroad: I will homely and rudely (yet not altogether disorderly) part priuately vnto you such notes of affaires as I priuately marked for my selfe: which I either felt and saw, or learned in such place and of such persons as had willes to seeke for, and ways to come by, and wittes to way the greatest matters that were to be marked in all these affaires. For no wieke almost hath past in the which there hath not commonly come to my hand for the most part of the notable thynges that haue bene attempted in *Turky, Hungary, Italy, Fraunce, and Germany*. In declaryng to you these thyngs I will obserue onely the first two pointes of our wont communication: that is to my writyng I will set forward nothyng that is false, nor yet keepe backe any thyng that is true. For I playing no part of no one side, but sitting downe as indifferent looker on, neither *Imperiall* nor *French*, but flat *English*, do purpose with troth to report the matter, and seying I shall lyue vnder such a Prince, as Kyng *Edward* is, and in such a Countrey as *England* is (I thanke God) I shall haue neither neede to flatter the one side for profite, nor cause to fear the other side for displeasure. Therefore let my purpose of reportyng the trouthe as much content you, as the meane handlyng of the matter may mislike you. Yet speakyng thus much of trouthe, I meane not such a hid trouthe as was onely in the brest of Monsieur *d' Arras* on the Emperours side, or in Baron *Hadeck* on Duke *Maurice* side, with whom and with on other of his counsell he onely conferred all his purposes three yeares before he brake out with the Emperour: But I meane such a troth as by conference and common consent amongest all the Ambassadors and Agentes in this Court and other witty and indifferent heades beside was generally conferred and agreed upon. What better commoditie to know the trouthe any writer in *Greeke, Latine*, or other tounge hath had, I can not perceiue, except onely *Xenophon, Cæsar, and Phillip Comines*: which two first worthy writers wrote their owne actes so wisely, and so without all suspicion of parcialitie, as no man hitherto by mine opinion hath borne himself so vprightly in writyng the histories of others: The thyrd hauing in a manner the like oportunitie hath not deserued lyke commendations, at least as I suppose. *England* hath matter and *England* hath men furnished with all abilities to write: who if they would might bryng both lyke prayse vnto them selues, and like profite to others, as
these

these two noble men haue done. They lay for their excuse the lacke of leysure which is true in deede: But if we consider the great affaires of *Cæsar* we may iudge hee was worthy to winne all praise that was so willing and wittie to winne such time when his head and his handes night and day were euer most full, would to God that these our men as they are ready to prayse hym were euen as willyng to follow hym, and so to wyne like prayse themselues.

And to keepe you no longer with my priuate talke from the matter itself, I will begyn at the spryng of the matter from whence all these mischiefes dyd flow, the which now hath so ouerflowed the most part of Christendome, as God onely from Heauen must make an end of this miserable tragedie, wherein these two great Princes take such pleasure still to play. In Religion and Libertie were sayd to be of many men the very causes of all these sturries: yet in myne opinion, and as the matter itself shall well proue it, vnkyndnes was the very fede, whereof all these troubles did grow. A Knight of *England* of worthy memorie for wit, learnyng and experience, old Syr *Thomas Wiat* wrote to his sonne that the greatest mischief amongst men, and least punished is vnkyndnes: the greatest mischief truly and least punished also by any ordinary law and sentence, yet as I haue sene here by experience, vnkyndnes hath so wrought with men, as the meane were not affrayd to attempt their reuenge, nor the Emperour able to withstand their displease. Yea vnkyndnes was onely the hoke, which *Henry* the *French* kyng hath vsed these late yeares to plucke from the Emperour and draw to hymselfe, so many Princes and great commodities as he hath: with this hoke bayted with money the bayte of all mischief, the *French* kyng hath not ceased, to angle at as many harts in *Italy* and *Germany* as he knew any matter of vnkyndnes to be ministred vnto, by the Emperour.

The cause of
the sturres in
Italy and
Germany.
Vnkyndnes.

There be few Princes in all the Empire but if I had leysure, I could particularly proue, and when I come home in our priuate talk I wil fully declare that some good big matter of vnkindnes hath bene offred vnto them by the Emperour. Yea *Ferdinando* his brother, *Maximilian* his nephew and sonne in law, the Duke of *Bauarie* and *Cleues* which haue married his nieces haue bene shrewdly touched therewith. Also the Papisticall Byshops as *Mentz*, *Pamburge*, *Herbipolis*, *Saltzburge*, and diuers others haue felt their part herein. Few Princes or States, Protestantes

or

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or Papistes, but haue bene troubled therewith. But euen as a quaterne in the begynnyng is a wanderyng disease in the Body vnkowne what it will turne vnto, and yet at last it draweth to certaine dayes and houres: euen so these grieues in the whole body of the Empire dyd first worke secretly and not appeare openly, vntill this melancholy vnkyndnes did so swell in mens stomaches that at length in *Innsburgh* it brast out into a shrewd sicknes, whereof the first fit was felt to be so daungerous, that if the Emperour and we had not more spedely chaunged the ayre, I am affrayed and sure I am we were wel affrayd then, the sicknes would haue proued also to vs that were present with hym very contagious.

Well this grief growyng thus to certaine fittes, and I my selfe beyng not greatly griued at the hart with it but had leysure enough with small ieoperdy (I thanke God) to looke quietly vpon them that were sicke, because I would not be idle amongst them, I began dayly to note the working of this sicknes, and namely from the 19th of *May* 1552, when we ranne from *Innsburgh* til the first of next *January* when the siege of *Metz* was abandoned. Neuertheles before I come to these ordinary dayes I will shortly touch how the Emperour beyng in peace with all the World 1550, when we came to his Court, had soone after so many enemyes as he knew not which way to turne hym.

The TURKE.

The brech
with the
Turke.

THE date of Peace betwixt the Emperour and the *Turke* had to expire an. 1551. The Emperour hearyng what preparation the *Turke* had made the yeare before for Warre and specially by Sea, which must needes be agaynst Christendome, thought it better for hym to ende the Peace with some aduantage, then that the *Turke* should begyn the Warre with too much strength, and therefore in Sommer 1550, he sent *John de Vega* Viceroy of *Cicile* and *Andrea Dorea* into *Barbaria*, who wan the strong towne of *Affrica* from *Dragut Raies* sometyme a Pirate and now the *Turkes* chief doer in all the affaires of *Affricke* and *Mare Mediterraneø*. This Court raised vp other rumors of this brech with the *Turke* how that this enterprize was made for *Seripho* sake, a Lethen kyng, but the Emperours friend in *Barbaria* to whome *Dragat Rayes* had done great wrong. Yet men that knew the troth, and

are wont also to say it, haue told me that towne of *Affrica* stode so fit to annoy *Spayne* for the *Turke* when he list, that the Emperour was compelled to seeke by all meanes to obtaine it, much fearyng, lest when he was absent in *Germany*, the *Turke* would be too nigh and too homely a gest with hym in *Spayne* whensoever the Peace should be expired.

The whole story of winnyng *Affrica* ye may read when you list beyng wel written in *Latin* by a *Spaniard* that was present at it.

Affrica was earnestly required agayne by the *Turke*, and fayre promis'd agayne by the Emperour, but beyng indeede not deliuered, the *Turke* for a reuenge the next yeare, first assaulted *Malta* and after wan *Tripoly* from whence the *Turke* may easely and soddenly whensoever hee list set vpon *Cicilie*, *Naples*, or any coast of *Italie* or *Spayne*, and most commodiously whatsoever the Emperour doth hold in *Barbary*: so that the gayne of *Affrica* is thought nothyng comparable with the losse of *Tripoly*.

When *Tripoly* was besieged by the *Turkes*, Monsieur *Daramont* was sent Ambassadour to *Constantinople* from the *French* kyng: and ariuyng by the way at *Malta*, he was desired by the great master of the order to go to *Tripoly*, and for the Friendship that was betwene *Fraunce* and the *Turke* to treat for the Christians there. *Daramont* did so and had leaue of the *Turkes* generall to enter the Towne and talke with the Capitaine. And by this meanes they within yielded, on this condition to part safe with bag and baggage which was granted by the Generall. But as soone as the *Turkes* entered the Towne they put old and young, man, woman, child to the sword, sauing two hundred of the strongest men to be their Galley slaues for euer. The generall beyng asked why he kept no promise made this answere. If the Emperour had kept faith with my master for *Affrica* I would not have broken with them of *Tripoly*, and therefore (sayth he) with christen men which care for no trothe promises may iustly be broken. This *Turkish* crueltie was reuenged this last yeare in *Hungary*, when lyke promise of lyfe was made, and yet all put to the sword, the Christians bidding the *Turkes* remember *Tripoly*. To such beastly crueltie the noble feates of armes be come unto betwixt the Christen men and the *Turkes*. And one fact of either

side is notable to bee knowen, yet horrible to be told and fouler to be followed: and it is pitie that mans nature is such as will commonlie commend good thynges in readyng and yet will as commonlie follow ill thynges in doying.

An horrible
fact.

The *Bassa* of *Buda* tooke in a skirmish a gentleman of the kyng of *Romanes*: for whose deliury men for entreaty and money for his ranfome were sent to *Buda*. The *Bassa* appointed a day to giue them aunswere, and at time and place assigned, called for them and sent for the gentleman likewise. And soddenly came out two hangmen bare armed with great butchers kniues in theyr handes bringing with them certain bandogges musled kept hungry without meat of purpose: the *Bassa* bad them do their feate: who commyng to the gentleman stripped him naked, and bound him to a pillar, after with their kniues they cut of his flesh by gobbets and flang it to the dogges. Thus that poore gentleman suffred grief great for the payne, but greater for the spight: nor so tormented in feelyng his fleshe mangled with kniues, as in seyng himself peece meale deuoured by dogges. And thus as long as he felt any payne they cut him in collops, and after they let their dogges lose upon him to eat up the residue of him, that the grief which was ended in him being dead might yet continue in his frendes looking on. They were bad depart and tell what they saw, who ye may be sure were in care enough to cary home with them such a cruell message.

Not long after this, three *Turkes* of good estimation and place, were taken by the christen men: for whose raunsome great summes of gold were offred. Answere was made to the messenger that all the gold in *Turky* should not saue them. And because ye *Turkes* will eat no swines flesh, you shall see if swine will eat any *Turkish* flesh. And so likewise great bores were kept hungry, and in sight of the messenger, the three *Turkes* were cut in collops and throwne amongst them.

The great
Turke.

For these foule deedes I am not so angry with the *Turkes* that began them as I am fory for the Christen men that follow them. I talked with a worthy gentleman this day both for his great experience and excellent learnyng, *Marc Anthonio d' Anula* Ambassadour of *Venice* with the Emperour: who told me that the great *Turke* him self (Religion excepted)
is

is a good and mercyfull, iust and liberall Prince, wise in making and true in performing any couenant, and as fore a reuenger of troth not kept. He prayed God to keep him long aliue: for his eldest sonne *Mustapha* is cleane contrary, geuen to all mischief cruell, false, getting he careth not how vniustly, and spending he careth not how vnthrifely what soeuer he may lay hand on, wilye in making for his purpose, and ready to breake for his profite all couenantes, he is wery of quietnes and peace, a seeker of strife and warre, a great mocker of meane men, a fore oppressor of poore men, openly contemnyng God, and a bent enemy agaynst Christes name and Christen men.

Mustapha
the Turkes
eldest sonne.

But to go forward with my purpose. The *Turke* beyng onest disclosed an open enemy to the Emperour, many meane men began to be the bolder to put out their heades to seeke some open remedy for theyr priuate iniuries: *Fraunce* beyng at euery mans elbow to harten and to help, whosoever had cause to be aggriued with the Emperour. And first *Octauio* Duke of *Parma*, much agreed as nature well required with his fathers death, and, besides that, fearing the losse not onely of his state, but also of his lyfe, fell from the Emperour in the end of the yeare 1550.

Pietro Aloyfio Farnesio sonne to *Papa Paulo tercio* Duke of *Placentia*: father to this Duke *Octauio* Duke of *Parma* which married the Emperours base daughter, and to *Horatio* Duke of *Castro* who of late had married also the *French* kynges base daughter, and the two Cardinals *Alexandro* and *Ramusio Farnese*, was slaine men say by the meanes of *Ferranto Gonzaga* gouernour of *Millan*, by whose death the state of *Placentia* belonging then to the house of *Farnesia* came into the Emperours handes. The whole proceffe of this mans death is at length set out in the stories of *Italie*: my purpose is onely to touch it, because hereby rose such a heate betwixt the whole famely of *Farnesia* and Don *Ferranto Gonzaga* as hath stirred vp such a smoke in *Italy* betwixt the Emperour and *Fraunce* as is not like to be quenched but with many a poore mans bloud, as *Horace* noteth wittely out of *Homer*, saying:

“What follies so euer great Princes make:

“The people therefore go to wrake.”

Octauio being sore grieved with his fathers death and being best able to reuenge it was so feared of *Gonzaga* that he thought hym selfe neuer assured for *Petro Luis* death as long as *Octauio* his sonne should lyue: for men neuer loue when they haue iust cause to feare, but must nedes still mistrust without all hope of reconciling whom they haue before hurt beyond all remedy of amendes. And yet I heard a gentleman of *Millan* say (who was sent hether to the Emperour by *Gonzaga*) that *Octauio* is such a Prince for good nature and gentle behauour that he supposed there was not one in *Italy* but did loue hym except it were his maister *Gonzaga*. These two Princes being neighbours the one at *Millan* the other at *Parma* shewed smal frendshyp the one to the other. But *Octauio* was euermore wrong to the worse by many and sundry spites, but chiefly with dayly feare of hys life by poysoning: for the which fact certain persons in *Parma* were taken and layd fast. Neuertheles *Octauio*s nature is so farre from seeking bloud and reuenge and so geuen to pitie and gentlenes, that although they went about not onely to giue away his state by treason, but also to take away his life by poysoning, yea, and after that the deede was proued playnly on them, and sentence of death pronounced openly agaynst them, yet he gaue them lyfe and liberty which would haue taken both from hym.

And when *Monsieur Thermes* earnestly told him that where the euill were not kept in with feare of Justice, the good should neuer lyue in suretie and quietnes: his aunswere was that he so abhorred the shedding of Bloud in others as he would neuer wash his handes in any: let his Enemies do to him the worst they could. Addyng, that he thought it his most honor to be vnylikest such for his gentlenes, which were misliked of all men for their crueltie: wherby he hath wonne that he which of good nature can hurt none, is now of right loued of all and onely hated of him whom no man in *Italy* for his cruelty doth loue. And this talk is so true that it was told in an other language but in the self same termes at an honorable table here in *Bruxels* by a Gentleman of *Millan* an agent in the court, a doer for *Gonzaga*, who the same tyme was prisoner in *Parma*.

And although *Octauio* by good nature was harmeles in not seeking reuenge, yet he was not careles by good reason in seeking hys remedy but made oft and great complaintes of his grieues to the Emperour, which

which were not so hotely made, but they were as coldly heard; that at length *Octauio* findyng least comfort, where of right he looked for most ayde, and feyng that displeasures could not be ended in *Gonzaga* nor could not be amended by the Emperour: then he, compelled agaynst his nature, turned his hate due to *Gonzaga* to reuenge this vnderferued vnkyndnes in the Emperour, euen as *Pausanias* dyd with *Phillip* kyng of *Macedonie*, who conquering with pollicie and power all outward enemyes, was slayne when and where he thought him self most sure of his dearest frend, for vnkyndnes, because *Phillip* ought and would not reuenge *Pausanias* on him that had done him a foule displeasure.

Octauio feyng what was done to his father euen when hys graundfather was Byshop of *Rome*, thought, that now as his house decayed, so his ieopardy encreased. And therefore agaynst a desperate euill began to seeke for a desperate remedie, which was fet from *Rome*, a shop alwayes open to any mischief as you shall perceiue in these few leaues if you marke them well.

Octauio complained to *Julio tercio* of the wronges of *Gonzaga* and of the vnkindnes of the Emperour, desiring that by his wisedome and authoritie, he would now succor him or els not onely he should leese his life but also the Church of *Rome* should lose her right in *Parma*, as she had done before in *Placentia*. The Byshop gaue good eare to this talke, for he spied that hereby should be offered vnto him, a fit occasion to set the Emperour and *Fraunce* together by the eares. He thought the Emperour was to bigge in *Italy*, hauyng on the one side of *Rome*, *Naples* vnder his obedience, on the other side *Siene*, *Florence* and *Genoa*. at his commaundement, besides *Placentia*, *Millan*, *Monteferrato*, and a great part of *Piemount*.

The Emperour beyng thus strong in *Italy*, the Byshop thought his own state to be his so long as it pleas'd the Emperour to let him haue it: and therefore if *Parma* were not left an entry for *Fraunce* to come into *Italy*, he might ouersoone be shut vp in present miserie when all outward ayde should be shut out from him.

The Popes counsel was that *Octauio* should put him selfe vnder the *French* kynges protection whom hee knew would most willingly receiue him:

him: *Parma* lying so fit for the *French* kyng, when soeuer he would set vpon the enterprice of *Millan*. This practice of the Pope *Monsieur de Thermes* the *French* kynges Ambassadours dyd vtter before the consistorie of Cardinals at *Rome*: prouing that the Pope, not the kyng his master, was the occasion of that Warre.

When *Octauio* with the whole house of *Farnesia* became thus *French*, the Emperour more fearyng the state of *Millan* then lamentyng the losse of *Octauio* perswaded on his side the Byshop of *Rome* to require *Parma* as the Churches right, and to punish *Octauio* as the Churches rebell, promising that he himself as an obedient sonne of the Church would stretch out his arme and open his purse in that recouery of the Churches right: neuertheles the Byshop must beare the name of the warre because he might not breake peace with *Fraunce*. Thus Princes openly countenancing quietnes and priuily brewyng debate altho they got others to broch it, yet God commonly suffreth themselues to drinke most of the misery thereof in the end. The Byshop seyng that he must either begyn the mischief or else it would not on so fast as he wished to haue it, set lustely vpon it: and first cited *Octauio*, after excommunicated him, and shortly after besieged *Parma* ayded both with men and money by the Emperour: which thyng the *French* kyng began to stomach, thincking that the Emperour dyd offer him both wrong and dishonor in not suffring him beyng a kyng to help a poore man that fled to his ayde. And thus these two princes first helpyng others began by litle and litle to fall out themselues. And that the Pope dyd set these two Princes together, a *Pasquill* made at *Rome* and sent to this Court doth well declare. And seyng that you so well vnderstand the *Italian* tounge and that if it were turned into *English* it would leese the whole grace thereof, I will recite it in the tounge that it was made in.

Breach with
Fraunce.

Interlocutori PASQUILLO et ROMANO.

Pasq. Hanno bel gioco il Re e l'Imperatore,
Per terzo il Papa, e giocano a Primiera.
Rom. Che v'è d'invito? *Pasq.* Italia tutta intera.
Rom. Chi ve l'ha messa? *Pasq.* Il coglion del pastore.

Rom.

Rom. Che tien in mano il Re? *Pasq.* Punto maggiore :

Il Papa ha cinquant' vno e si dispera.

Rom. Cesar che Punto s'ha? *Pasq.* Si sta a Primera

Rom. Che gli manca? *Pasq.* Danari a far favore

Il Papa dice a voi, e vuol partito:

Cesar pensoso sta sopra di questo,

Teme a scoprir che di trovar non tenta.

Il Re dice, no, no, Scoprite presto,

Che io tengo Punto, a guadagnar l'invito;

I'ho i danari, e Cesar se gli aspetta.

¶ Tutti stanno a vedetta.

Chi di lor dui guadagni. *Rom.* Il Papa? *Pas.* E fuora

Vinca chi vuol, lui perda, in sua malora.

¶ Lo Imperatore ancora

Teme, tien stretto, e scopre pian le carte,

E quì la forte gioca più che l'arte.

¶ Metta questi in disparte.

Stabilito è nel Ciel quello che esser dé,

Nè giova al nostro dir, questo sarà, questo è.

The *French* kyng in the sommer, 1551, proclaimed warre against *Charles* kyng of *Spayne*, abusing that name for a sottlety to separate the whole quarrell from the Empire: when the Emperour would not be perswaded at *Augusta* that either the *Turke* would, or the *French* kyng durst make him open warre, or that any prince in *Italy* or *Germany* could be entised to break out with him.

Monsieur Mariliacke the *French* Ambassadour at *Augusta* euen bare the Emperour in hand that such rumors of war were rayfed of displeasure, and that his master intended nothyng so much as the continuance of amitie, yea this he durst do, when many in the Emperours court knew that the warre was already proclaimed in *Fraunce*.

The Emperour blinded with the ouer good opinion of his own wisedome, likyng onely what himselfe listed, and contemnyng easely

all aduise of others (which selfe will condition doth commonly follow, and as commonly doth hurt all great wittes) dyd not onely at this tyme suffer him selfe thus to be abused: but also afterward more craftely by the Pope for the continuance of warre at *Parma*, and more boldly by Duke *Maurice* for his repayre to *Inspruke*, and not the least of all, now lately at *Metz* by some of his owne counsellours for the recouery of that Towne. But Princes and great personages whiche will heare but what and whom they list, at the length fayle when they would not, and commonly blame whom they should not: But it is well done that as great men may by authoritie contemne the good aduise of others; so God doth provide by right iudgement that they haue leaue in the ende to beare both the losse and shame therof them selues.

Thus ye see how the Pope was both the brewer and brocher and also bringer of ill lucke to both these Princes, and as it came wel to passe dranke well of it him selfe both with expences of great treasures, and with the losse of many lyues, and specially of two noble Gentlemen, the Prince of *Macedonia* and *Il Seign. Giovan Baptista di Monte* his owne nephew: but the Popes care was neither of money nor men, so that he might set the two Princes surely together. And therefore was not onely content (as a man might say) to hafard *Parma* on the meyne chaunce: but to make the two Princes better sport and fresher game, set also euen then *Mirandula* on a bye chaunce that mischief enough might come together.

Pope

Parma.

Mirandula.

When the Princes were well in, and the one so lusty with good lucke that hee had no lust to leaue, and the other so chafed with leesyng, that still he would venture. Besides their playing in sporte for the Pope at *Parma* and *Mirandula*, they fell to it a good them selues in *Piemount*, *Lorraine*, *Flaunders* and *Picardy*, the *French* kyng robberyng by sea and spoyling by land, with calling in the *Turke*, and sturrying vp all Princes and states that had any occasion to beare any grudge to the Emperour. Of all their neighbours onely our noble kyng, and the wise senate of *Venize* would be lookers on.

And when the Pope saw they were so hote at it as he well knew as the one would not start in so great good lucke, so the other could not leaue by so much shame of losse. And although it did him good to see them

them so lustely together; nevertheles he thought it scarce his surety that they should play so neare his elbow so earnestly, least if they fell to farre out, and the one should winne to much of the other, then he peradventure would compell at length the Pope him selfe which began the play to kepe him sport afterward for that that he had in *Italy*. And therefore very craftely he gat them to play in an other place, and tooke vp the game for *Parma* and *Mirandula*, taking truce with *Fraunce* ^{The Popes practice.} for certain yeares, and bad them make what sport they would farther of in *Lorraine* and *Picardy*. And that they should lacke neither iniurie nor spite in the Popes doynges, when the Emperour saw that, whether hee would or no, the Pope would needes fall in with *Fraunce*, then he desired the Pope that such bastilians and fortes of fence as were made about *Mirandula* when it was besiged might either be deliuered to hys mens handes, or els defaced, that the Frenchmen might not haue them, which request was very reasonable, seyng the Emperour had been at all the charge in makying of them: but they were neither deliuered nor defaced, nor left indifferent, but so put into the French mens handes, that *Mirandula* now is made very strong to the *French* faction by Emperours money and the Popes falsehode.

This fact was very wrongfull of the Pope for the deede: but more spitefull for the tyme: even when Duke *Maurice* had wonne *Augusta*, euen then the Pope gaue vp the siege of *Mirandula*, and fel in with *Fraunce*, that care enough might come vppon the Emperour together both out of *Germany*, and out of *Italy* at once. And even this day, 25th *June* 1553, when I was writyng this place, commeth newes to *Bruxells*, that the Pope hath of new played with the Emperour more foule play at *Siena*, then he dyd before at *Mirandula*: for when the Emperour had bene at passing charges in kepyng a great host, for the recouery of *Siena*, from *December* last vnto *June*: the Pope would needes become stickler in that matter betwene the Emperour, the *French* Kyng and *Siena*, promising such conditions to all, as neither of the Princes should lose honour, and yet *Siena* should have had liberties. The Emperour, good man, yet agayne trustyng him who so spightfully had deceiued hym before, dismissed hys hoste, which done *Siena* was left still in the *Frenchmens* handes: who thereby haue such oportunitie to fortifie it, as the Emperour is not like, by force, to recouer it. *Piramus*, Secretary to the Emperour, told this tale to Syr *Phillip Hobby* and
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the Byshop of *Westminster* openly at the table: which *Piramus* is a Papist for his life. And beyng asked how he could excuse the Popes vnkyndnes agaynst his master the Emperour? hee aunswered smilyng, *Julius* tercius is a knaue, but the Pope is an honest man, which saying is common in this court. And although they will vnderstand both the spight of the Pope and the shame of their master, yet are they content stil to speake well of the Pope, though he neuertheles stil do ill to the Emperour. And thus to returne to my purpose how the Pope set the two Princes together, and shift his owne necke a while out of the halter, leauyng most vnfrendly the Emperour when he was farthest behynd hand: and how *Octauio* for feare of *Gonzaga*, and vnkyndnes of the Emperour, fell with all hys famely to be *French*, I haue briefly pass-ed ouer for the haste I haue to come to the matters of *Germany*.

¶ The PRINCE of S A L E R N E.

THE Emperour beyng thus set vpon by the *Turke* and *Fraunce* with open warre, and troubled by the house of *Fernesia* with so foddeyne breaches, and most of all encombred with the feare of the sturres in *Germany* which secretly were then in workyng: the Prince of *Salerne* also declared hym selfe an open enemy.

This Prince in this Court is much beloued for his gentlenes, and openly prayfed for his wisedome, and greatly lamented for his fortune, who before tyme hath done so good and faythfull seruice to the Emperour: that I haue heard some of this Court say, which loue the Emperour well, and serue him in good place, that their master hath done the Prince so much wrong, as he could do no lesse than he dyd: who being so vniustly handled by his enemies, the Viceroy of *Naples*, and so vnkyndly dealt with all by hys master the Emperour, was driuen by necessitie to seek an vnlawfull shift.

The Viceroy *Don Pietro de Toledo*, vncke to the Duke of *Alua*, and father in law to the Duke of *Florence*, vsed him selfe with much cruelty ouer the people of *Naples*, by exactions of money without measure, by Inquisition of mens doyngs without order, and not onely of mens doyngs, but also of mens outward lookyngs, and inward thinkyngs,
vsing

vſing the leaſt ſuſpicion for a ſufficient witneſs to ſpoyle and to kill whom ſoeuer he liſted. Men that had ſutes vnto him, had as leue bene away with the loſſe of their right, as haue come to his preſence to abyde his lokes and taunts: and (as I heard a wiſe gentleman of *Italy* ſay) he gaue audience in ſuch tyme and place, as he may eaſlyer in this Court ſpeake with *Monſieur d'Arras* then he could in *Naples* with the Viceroyes Porter. And commonly he would not heare them whileſt an hundred ſuters ſhould come at once, and then the porter let them in by one and by one euen as he favoured, not as the matter required, commanding them to be ſhort, or els they ſhould come ſhort in, the next tyme. And ſo mens ſutes were pulled from common law to priuate will, and were heard not in places open to juſtice but in priuate parlors, ſhit vp to all that came not in by fauour or money. And therefore iudgements were allotted not as law appointed, but as the Viceroy liſted. This fault (*Cicero* ſayth) vndyd *Cæſar*, who drew the common law into his own houſe, and ſo in hauing other mens goods loſt all mens hartes, and not long after his owne lyfe: for euen thoſe that dyd help him pluck downe *Pompey*, dyd after kill him for pulling downe the lawes. So we ſee that Princes not in gatheryng much money, nor in bearing ouer great ſwing, but in keping of frendes and good lawes, lyue moſt merely, and raigne moſt ſurely: but ſuch as gape alwayes for other mens goods commonly neuer enioy the fruite of their owne: for they never ceaſe to win by wrong, till at length they leeſe by right goodes, lyfe and all. And therefore it is notable that *Dion* in *Plato* writeth to *Dionyſius* the Tyraunt, how *Euripides* in euery tragedy bringeth for ſome great vice one or other great Prince to ruine, and yet not one doth complaine thus:

Out out, alas alas, I dye for lacke of goodes.

But every one ſingeth this ſong:

Out out, alas alas, I dye for lacke of frendes.

For a Prince that will take mens goods when he liſteth without order, ſhall want mens hartes when he needeth without pitie: but in hauyng their hartes he ſhall neuer lacke their goodes, as the good Kyng *Cyrus* ſayd to the rich Kyng *Cræſus*. And to haue the peoples hartes,

THE WORKS OF

the next way is to be gentle to euery one, iust to all, and liberall to many, and especially to such as either by excellency of wit or good will in true seruice, do well deserue it. Also to set his chief ioy not on priuate pleasure, like *Sardanapalus*, but in common wealth, as we haue example of *Titus Vespasianus*: and to thinke his treasure greatest, not when his coffers be fullest, as *Cræsus* dyd, but when his subiectes be rich, as *Cyrus* dyd, and that through hys wisdome and care, as all prayse worthy Princes haue euer hitherto done. And what will the people render agayn to such a Prince: a small subsidy, with a great grudge? no, but their whole hartes to loue him, their whole goodes to ayde hym: their handes ready to defend hym whensoever he shall haue neede. A Prince that thus doth lyue, and thus is loued at home, may be enuyed with much prayse, and hated with smal hurte of any power abroad.

Syr John
Gates wish.

And therefore haue I heard wisemen discommend the gouernement in *Fraunce*, in makyng theyr people almost slaues, and from thence a common saying of some in *England*, That would haue the people neither witty nor wealthy, when wit is the meare gift of God: so that to wish men lesse wit that haue it, is to count God scarce wise that gave it. And wealth of the people, as Scripture sayth, is the glory of a Prince and surety of hys raigne. But suspition in all gouerning breedeth such sayinges, when wrong doth bear such swynge as ill conscience doth always wish that men should lack either wit to perceauie or habilitie to amend what soeuer is done amisse. But God send such *Achitophels* better end then their counsels doth deserue, which would seme wise by other mens folly, and would be rich by other mens pouertie.

To return to the Viceroy of *Naples*, the common opinion of those in this Court which have * priuate cause to say well on him, do speake it holdly and openly, that he was such a one as neuer could content his couetousnes with money, nor neuer satisfie his crueltie with bloud: and so by this foul mean many gentlemen in *Naples* haue lost some theyr lyues, but more theyr liuynges, and almost all theyr libertie. And there be at this day as men say here that know it, a good fort

* Perhaps it should be read, *have no private cause.*

of thousandes *Neapolitanes*, named *Foriensuti*, who beyng spoyled at home by violence, robbed other abroad for neede, which comber so the passage betwixt *Rome* and *Naples*, as no man departeth commonly from *Rome* without company which cometh to *Naples* without robbing.

The whole body of the kyngdome of *Naples* was so distempered inwardly with this misorder, with a little outward occasion it would easely have burst forth into a foule sore. A lesse matter then the rauishyng of *Lucrece*, a meaner ayde then the help of *Brutus*, was thought sufficient to have stirred up this inward grudge to open reuenge. But see how God prouided for the Emperour and the quyet of that kyngdome: for God, in takyng away one *Spanyard*, hath made *Naples* now more strong, then if the Emperour had set 20 thousand of the best in *Spayn* there: for euen this last *Lent* 1553, *Don Pietro de Toledo* dyed at *Florence*, by whose goyng away mens hartes in *Naples* be so come agayne to the Emperour, as he shall now haue lesse neede either to care for the fyne fetches of *Fraunce*, or to feare the great power of the *Turke*. A gentleman of this Court a true seruant to the Emperour, sayd merely in a company where I was, that his master the Emperour had won more in *Naples* by the death of the Viceroy, then he had lost in *Lorraine* by the forgyng of *Metz*.

But to my purpose. Not many yeares agoe diuers in *Naples* made their complaint to the Prince of *Salerno* of their griefes, who was thought would be most willyng for his good nature, and best able for his authoritie, to seeke some remedie for them by way of intercession to the Emperour.

The Prince beyng here at *Bruxels*, humbly besought hys Majestie to pitie the miserie of hys poore subiectes: who by this sute gat of the Emperour, for hys cliantes, wordes without hope: and of the Viceroy for him selfe hatred without ende. The Prince yet alwayes bare hym selfe so wisely, that he could not without some sturre be thrust downe openly: and ridyng on his iourney, he was once shot with a dagge secretly.

Thus he seyng no ende of displeasure in the Viceroy, no hope of remedie in the Emperour, when he saw the *Turke* on the sea, the
French

French Kyng in the field, Duke *Maurice* and the Marches vp, and a good part of *Italy* either risen or ready to rise, thinkyng the tyme come of theyr most hope for helpe by the Princes, and of least fear of punishment by the Emperour, came forth to play his part also amongst the rest: who when flyng first to the *French* Kyng, and after, by hys counsell as it is sayd, to the *Turke*, is compelled to uenture vppon many hard fortunes. And what succes he shall haue either of helpe in *Fraunce* or comfort of the *Turke*, or mercy of the Emperour, I can not yet write. But this last winter he hath lyen in the Ile of *Cro*, and now I heare say this sommer he is on the sea with 63 gallyes of the *Turkes* at his commandement; what enterprize he will make, or what successe he shall haue, when we shall heare of the matter, I trust, I shall, either by some priuate letter from hence, or by present talk at home, fully satisfie you therein.

¶ A L B E R T M A R C H E S O F B R A D E N B U R G E .

Marches Al-
berts booke
and the con-
tents thereof.

ALBERT Marches of *Bradenburge*, in the begynnyng of his sturre 1552, wrote a booke and set it print, wherein he declared the causes of hys fallyng from the Emperour, wittely alledgyng common misery as a iust pretence of hys priuate enterprize, makyng other mens hurtes his remedy to heale his own sores, and common wronges hys way to reuenge priuate displeasures: shewyng libertie to be lost, and Religion to be defaced, in all *Germany*, lamentyng the long captiuitie of the two great Princes: and all the dispossessyng of hys father in law Duke *Otto Henrick*: fore enueying against the pride of the *Spanyardes*, and the authoritie of straungers, which had now in their Sore and iust hands the seale of the Impire, and in their swynge the doying of all complayntes. thynges, and at their commaundement all such mens voyces as were to be called the Imperiall Dietes: compellyng the *Germanes* in their owne countrey to vse straunge touns for their priuate sutes, wherein they could say nothyng at all, or nothyng to the purpose: vsing *Camera Imperialis* at *Spires* for a common key to open all mens coffers when they listed, and these were the chiefeft points in Marches booke.

The

The Marches also fore enueyed agaynst *Luice de Auila* for writyng, and agaynst the Emperour for suffring such a booke as *Luice de Auila* wrote: wherein the honor of *Germany* and the Princes therof, and by name Marches *Albert*, who was in the first warres on the Emperours side, was so defamed to all the world: yea the Marches was so thoroughly chafed with this booke, that when I was in the Emperours Court, he offred the combat with *Luice de Auila*, which the Emperour, for good wil and wise respectes, would in no case admit.

The booke
of *Luice de
Auila*.

Not onely the Marches, but also the Princes at the Diet of *Passan* this last yeare, made a common complaint of this booke. I knew also the good old Prince *Fredericke Palsgraue* of the *Rhene*, in *September* last when the Emperour lay at *Landaw* beside *Spires*, goyng with his great army to *Metz*, complayned to the Emperour hym selfe, and to his counsell, of a certaine spightfull place in that booke agaynst him: the good Prince told me this tale hym selfe at hys house in *Heldibirge*, when I caried vnto him Kyng *Edwardes* letters, the Lord Ambassadour hym selfe beyng sicke at *Spires*.

And wise men say that the Duke of *Bauiere* also is euill contented for that which is written in that booke agaynst hys father, when he deserued of the Imperials to haue bene rewarded rather with prayse and thanks then with any vnkynde note of blame and dishonour: of whom the Emperour in his warres agaynst the *Lansgraue* and the Duke of *Saxonie* receiued such kyndnes, as no Prince in *Germany* for all respectes in that case was able to affourde hym: as first he had his whole countrey of *Bauiere* for a sure footyng place, to begyn the warre in: and had also both men and vittaile of hym what he would, and at length should haue had that countrey hys onely refuge, if that in warre he had come to any vnderdele, as he was like enough to haue done. But it was Gods secreet will and pleasure to haue the matter then go as it did: And for that cause men say Duke *Albert* of *Bauiere* that now is, that hath maryed the Emperours niece, was more straunge this last yeare to the Emperour, when he was driuen to that extremitye to flye away on the night from *Inspurge*, and was more familiar with

The Duke
of *Bauiere*
vnkyndly
handled.

THE WORKS OF

with Duke *Maurice*, and more friendly to the Princes confederate then els peradventure he would have done.

And here a writer may learne of Princes affaires a good lesson, to beware of parcialitie either in flattery, or spight: for although thereby a man may please his owne Prince presently, yet he may perchance as much hurt hym in the end as *Luis de Auila* dyd hurt the Emperour his master in writyng of this booke.

Indeede this booke was not the chiefeft cause of this sturre in *Germany*: but sure I am that many Princes in *Germany* were fore agreed with it, as the Emperour wanted both theyr hartes and their handes when he stode in most nede of frendes.

Iust reprehension of all vices as folie, vniust dealyng, cowardice, and vicious liuyng, must be frely and franckly vsed, yet so with that moderate discreffion as no purposed malice or bent hatred may seeme to be the breeder of any false reproch, which humor of writyng followeth so full in *Paulus Jouiis* bookes, and that by that iudgement of his owne frendes, as I have heard wise and well learned men say: that his whole study and purpose is spent on these pointes, to deface the Emperour, to flatter *Fraunce*, to spite *England*, to belye *Germany*, to prayse the *Turke*, to keepe vp the Pope, to pull downe Christ and Christes Religion, as much as lyeth in him. But to my purpose agayne.

The matters before of me briefly rehearsed, were at large declared in Marches *Albertes* booke: yet that you may know what secret workyng went before this playne writyng and open doying, and because the Marches part hath bene so notable in all this pastime, I will, by more particular circumstaunces, lead you to this generall complaintes.

There be at this day five Marchefferes of *Bradenburge*: *Joachimus* Elector, *Johannes* his brother, who for ciuile seruice is Imperiall with might and mayne, and yet in Religion a Christian Prince, with hart, tounge, and honesty of lyfe: Doctour *Christopher Monte*, both a learned and wise man, our Kynges Maiestie seruant, and his Agent in
the

the affaires of *Germany*, hath told me diuers tymes that this Marches *John* and the Duke of *Swaburg* be two of the worthiest Princes in all the Empire, either in considering wysely, or executing courageously any affaire. The thyrd is Marches *George*, who dwelleth in *Franconia*, not farre from *Noremburg*. The fourth Marches *Albert* the elder, the mighty Duke of PRUSIA, hable, for his power, to cope with any Prince, and 15 yeares together he dyd stoutly withstand, in continual warre, the strength of the Kyng of *Pole*. He hath so fully banished Papistry, and so surely established the doctrine of the gospell in PRUSIA, as no where hetherto in *Germany* is more diligently done; he loueth learnyng and honoreth learned men; and therefore, *an.* 1544, he founded a new Univerfitie in *Prusia*, called *Mons Regius*, bryngyng thether, with plentyfull thynges, excellent learned men in all tounes and sciences. He is vnclie to this notable Marches *Albert*, and lackyng children hath made hym hys heyre, and hath already inuestured hym in the dukedome of *Prusia*. The fift is Marches *Albert*, of whom I purpose to write on: whose father was *Cassimirus*, descended from the Kynges of *Pole*; and for his noblenes agaynst the *Turke*, called *Achilles Germanicus*: and therefore might very well engender such a hoate *Pirrbus*. Marches *Albert*, in hys young yeares, as I haue heard wise men say, was rude in hys maners, nor dyd not shew any token of towardnes likely to attempt any such affayres as in deede he hath done. It might be either for the lacke of learnyng and good bringyng vp (a great and common fault in great Princes of *Germany*) or els for his bashfull nature in youth, which propertie *Xenophon* wittely fayned to be in *Cyrus* Xenoph. a. at lyke yeares, iudgyng bashfulnes in youth to be a great token of uer- tue in age. xyg w.

Marches *Albert* is now at this day about 31 yeares old: of a good stature, neither very high nor very low, thicke without grofenes: rather wel boned for strength, then ouerloded with flesh: his face fayre, beutiful, brode, sterne, and manly: somewhat resemblyng my Lord Marches of *Northt*, when he was of the same yeares; hys eyes great and rowlyng, makyng hys countenance chereful when he talketh: and yet when he geueth eare to other, he kepeth both a sadde looke without signe of suspicion, and also a well set eye without token of malice: and this behauour I marked well in hym when I dyned in his company at the siege of *Metz*, in the County *John* of *Nassaus* tent: hys

E

voyce

voyce is great, and hys wordes not many, more ready to here other than to talke hymselfe. And when he talketh he so frameth hys tounge to agree with hart, as speakyng and meanyng seemeth to be alwayes at one in hym: and herein he may be well called the sonne of *Achilles*, whom *Homer* wittely doth fayne to haue such a free open nature: whose saying in *Greeke* is excellent, but beyng turned in the wrong side into *English*, it shall lesse delight you, yet thus much it signifieth:

Who, either in earnest or in sport,
Doth frame hymselfe after such sort,
This thyng to thinck, and that to tell,
My hart abhorreth as gate to hell.

Homer meanyng hereby that a Prince of noble courage should haue hys hart, hys looke, hys tounge, and hys handes so alwayes agreeyng together, in thinkyng, pretendyng, and speakyng, and doyng, as no one of these foure should at any tyme be at iarre with an other; which agreeyng together in theyr right tune, do make a pleasaunt melody in all mens eares both sweetest and loudest, called in *English* *Honor*, and most fitly in *Greeke* *Τιμή*, the price and prayse of vertue.

And though the Marches be free to say what he thinketh, yet he is both secret in purpofyng and close in workyng what so euer he goeth about. Now very skillfull to do harme to others, and as ware to keepe hurte from hym selfe, yet first bet vnto it with his own rod: for in the former warres of *Germany*, beyng on the Emperours side, he fell into the handes of Duke *John Fredericke* of *Saxony*, which chaunce he is charged sore withall by *Luice de Auila*, and that with so spightfull and open a mouth, as moued the Marches to offer hym the combat, as I sayd before. He is now most courageous in hardest aduentures, most cherefull in present ieoperdy, and most paynefull in greatest labours: hauyng no souldier vnder hym, that can better away with heate and cold, or longer suffer hunger and thirst then he hymselfe. Hys apparell is souldier-lyke, better knownen by hys fearce doynges then by his gay goyng: his souldiours feare him for his stoutnes, and loue him for his liberalitie: which winneth to him authoritie

fit for a stout Captaine, and worketh in them obedience due to good souldiours.

This last yeare, a litle before hys agreement with the Emperour, hys souldiours, for lacke of money and meate, fell to mutinyng, and then fell the Marches fastest to hangyng, not hidyng hym selfe for feare, but comming abroad with courage, did protest that neither the proudest should make misorder without punishment, nor yet the poorest should lacke as long as either he had peny in hys purse or loafe of bread in hys tent. And after this sort of outward behauour and inward condition in Marches *Albert*, as I have marked his person my selfe, and as I have learned hys doynges by such as by experience knew them well, and for their honesty would report them right, and now how he fell from the Emperour, I wil as briefly declare.

The Marches served the Emperour, as I said before, in the former warres in *Germany*, agaynst the *Lansgrau* and the Duke of *Saxony*, where he lost some honour, and spent much money. The Emperour shortly after came downe hether to *Bruxels*, hauyng the Marches in hys company, who lookyng for a great recompence of hys costes, and receiuyng litle, and seyng hys honor not onely defaced in the field presently when he was taken prisoner, but also defamed for euer by writyng confirmed by the Emperours priuiledge to grow abroad in the world, began to take the matter so unkyndly, that he left commyng to the Court, and kept his owne house: rising every day very early: and writyng all the forenoone very diligently, yet what he dyd no man knew: so that his absence bred a talke in the Court, and his soddein and secret study wrought a wonderfull gelousy of hys doynges in the Emperours head: for he knew the Marches to have courage enough to attempt matters ouer great; and therefore sent Monsieur *Granduille* vnto the Marches house, as of hym selfe, to grope out hys doynges, who declared vnto the Marches the Emperours great goodwil towards hym, shewyng that his Maiestie was purposed to make hym a great personage, and to begyn withal, had in mynde to geue hym a goodly and profitable office in all hys mintes.

The Marches aunswered roundly and plainly to the first, that the Emperour could not make hym greater then he was, beyng Marches

of *Bradenburge*: and as for the office in the minte, he said smilyng, he vsed not often to tell his owne money, and therefore he thought not to make the accompt of others; and so made nothing of the Emperours offer: onely hee desired *Grandeuill* that the Emperour would geue him leaue to go home to his owne, which he obtained: and, at his departure, the Emperour gaue him a patent of 4000 crownes by the yeare: but the Marches was not well foure myles out of *Bruxels*, when he sent the patent by post to the Emperour agayne, saying, his Maiestie might better bestow on some that had more neede of it. And indeede the Marches is as loth to receiue of hys frendes by beneuolence, as he is ready to take from hys enemies by violence, which commeth somewhat of to stout a courage.

Thus the Marches came home not best contented, as it may well appear: nor saw not the Emperour after, till he met hym at the siege of *Metz*. *Casmirus*, his father, and the Marches hymselfe were great spenders and deepe detters: the one for his stoutnes in warre, the other for hys lustines in youth. And therefore became quicke borrowers and slow payers, which thyng brought the Marches into such trouble as he had with the city of *Noremburge*, with his neighbours the Byshop of *Herbipolis*, and with his godfather the Byshop of *Pamberge*.

The Marches was no sooner come home, but these byshops, spying their tyme, when he had left the Emperours court, and had quite lost or much lessened hys frendship there, began to trouble hym with new suites for old debtes in *Camera Imperiali*, at *Spires*, where the Marches, because he lacked either fauour in the Court, or experience in young yeares, or good matter on his side, was alwayes wrong to the worst; and to stuffe vp his stomach with more matter of vnkyndnes against the Emperour, it is sayd, that letters from the greates in the Emperours Court were neuer lackyng at *Spires*, to helpe forward procelle agaynst the Marches.

Shortly after this tyme began the siege of *Madenburg*, where Duke *Maurice*, by the Emperour, was appointed generall. The Marches, either weery of leesyng at home by suites, or desirous to winne abroad by warre, or els purposing to practise some way to reuenge his displeasures, made him ready to serue against *Madenburg* with 500 horse.

And

And in the begynnyng of the Spryng of the yeare 1551, he set forward, and in his way went to visite *Ernestus*, his coufin, Duke of *Saxony*, brother to *John Fridericke*, then prisoner with the Emperour. The selfe some tyme *Lazarus Swendy* was sent from the Emperour as Commissary to Duke *Ernestus*, with earnest commandement that the Duke, and all his, should receive the doctrine of the *Interim*. And (that I may accomplish my purpose, which is to paynt out as truely as I can, by writyng, the very image of such persons as have played any notable part in these affaires: and so you, beyng absent, shall with some more pleasure read their doynge) this *Lazarus Swendy* is a tall and a comely ^{Lazarus} personage, and beyng brought vp in learnyng vnder *Oecolampadius* at ^{Swendy} *Basile*, makyng (as it was told me by an honest man that was thoroughly acquainted with hym there) more account of his tall stature then of any bewty of the mynde, began to be wery of learnyng, and became desirous to beare some bragge in the world: and so made a souldiour, mard a scholer, and because he would make a lusty chaunge from the feare of God and knowledge of Christs doctrine, he fell to be a peruerse and bloody Papist: euer at hand in any cruel execution agaynst the poore Protestantes, as commonly all such do which so wittyngly shake of Christ, and hys gospell. Such a commissary, you may be sure, would cruelly enough execute his office. Duke *Ernestus* told the Commissary, that he, hys landes and lyfe, were at his Maiesties commaundement; hys Maiesty knew how quietly he bare hym selfe alwayes, and therefore hys trust was, as he willyngly serued the Emperour with true obedience, so he might as freely serue God with right conscience: for he would rather leaue hys landes and goodes and all to the Emperour, and go beg with hys wyfe and children, then they would forsake the way of the Gospell, which God hath commaunded them to follow.

And marke how euidently God dyd declare both how much such a commission sent out abroad in *Germany* agaynst hym and hys worde dyd displease hym: and also how much the prayers and sighyng hartes of iust men do in tyme preuayle with him: for as a man of much honesty and great knowledge in all the matters of *Germany* dyd tell me, assoone as this commission was once abroad, the practyses in *Germany* began to styrr, yet not so openly as the Emperour might have iust cause to withstand them, nor so covertly, but he had occasion enough:

enough to mistrust them: and thereby he both lacked help for open remedy, and wanted no displeasure for inward griefe.

Duke *Ernestus*, Marches *Albert*, and *Lazarus Swendy* sat at supper together: and as they were talkyng of the *Interim*, the Marches suddenly braft out into a fury, saying: "What deuill, will the Emperour neuer leaue striuyng with God in defacyng true religion, and tossyng the world, in debarryng all mens liberties: addyng, that he was a Prince vnkynd to euery man, and kept touch with no man, that could forget all mens merites, and would deceiue whomsoever he promised."

The Duke lyked not this hoate talke in hys house and at hys table, but sayd: "Cofin, you speake but merely, and not as you thincke," addyng much in the prayse of the Emperours gentlenes shewed to many, and of hys promise kept with all. "Well, (quoth the Marches) if he had bene either kynde where men had deserued, or would haue performed that he promised: neither should I at this tyme accuse hym, nor you haue fit here in this place to defend hym, for he promised to geue me this house, with all the landes that thereto belongeth: but ye be affrayd, Cofin, (quoth the Marches) lest this talke be to loud, and so heard to farre of: when indeede, if the Commisfarie here be so honest a man as I take hym, and so true to hys master as he should be, he will not fayle to say what he hath heard; and on the same condition, Commissary, I bryng the goode lucke:" and drancke of vnto hym a great glasse of wine. *Lazarus Swendyes* talke then founded gently and quietly, for he was fore affrayed of the Marches. But he was no soner at home with the Emperour, but word was sent to Duke *Maurice*, that the Marches, who was as then come to *Madenburg*, if he would needes serue there, should serue without wages.

Ye may be sure the Marches was chafed a new with this newes, who already had lost a great fort of hys men, and now must leese hys whole labour thether, and all hys wages there, besides the losse of hys honor in takyng such shame of hys enemies, and receiuyng such vnkyndnes of the Emperour.

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The Marches was not so grieved, but Duke *Maurice* was as well contented with this commaundement: for euen then was Duke *Maurice* secretary practisynge, by Baron *Hadeckes* aduise, with the *French* Kyng for the sturre which dyd follow: and therefore was gladde when he saw the Marches might be made hys so easely, whiche came uery soone to passe: so that the Marches, for the same purpose, in the ende of the same yeare, went into *Fraunce* secretly, and was there with *Sbertly* as a common Launce Knight, and named hymselfe Captaine *Paul*, lest the Emperours spials should get out hys doynge: where, by the aduise of *Sbertly*, he practised with the *French* Kyng for the warres which followed after. This matter was told vnto me by *John Mecardus*, one of the chief preachers in *Augusta*, who beyng banished the Empire, when and how ye shall heare after, was fayne to flye, and was with *Sbertly* the same yeare in *Fraunce*.

The Marches came out of *Fraunce* in the begynnyng of the yeare 1552, and out of hand gathered vp men, but hys purpose was not knowne, yet the Emperour mistrusted the matter, beyng at *Insbürg*, sent *Doct. Hasius*, one of hys counsell, to know what cause he had to make such sturre. This *Doct. Hasius* was once an earnest Protestant, and wrote a booke on that side, and was one of the *Palsgraue* priuy counsell: but, for hope to clime higher, he was very ready to be entised by the Emperour to forsake first his master and then God: by whom the Emperour knew much of all the Princes Protestants purposes, for he was commonly one whom they had vsed in all their dietes and priuate practises: which thyng caused the Emperour to seeke to haue hym: that, by hys heade he might the easelyer ouerthrow the Protestantes, and with them, God and hys word in all *Germany*.

This man is very lyke *M. Parrie*, her graces cofferer, in head, face, legges, and bellye. What aunswere *Hasius* had I cannot tell, but sure I am the Marches then both wrote hys booke of complayntes agaynst the Emperour, and set it out in printe. And also came forward with banner displayed, and tooke *Dillyng* vpon *Danuby*, the Cardinall of *Augustus* towne, which Cardinal, with a few Priestes, fled in post to the Emperour at *Inspurg*, where he found so cold cheare, and so litle comfort, that forthwith in all haste, he posted to *Rome*.

Horsemen

Horsemen and footemen in great companies still gathered to the Marches: and in the ende of *March* he marched forward to *Augusta*, where the Duke *Maurice*, the young *Lansgraue*, the Duke of *Machelburg*, *George* and *Albert*, with *William* Duke of *Brunswycke*, and other Princes confederate, met together, and besieged that citie, where I will leaue the Marches till I haue brought Duke *Maurice* and hys doynge to the same tyme, and to the same place.

¶ DUKE MAURICE.

NOT many yeares agoe, whole *Saxony* was chiefly under two Princes: the one Duke *John Fredericke*, borne Elector, who yet liueth, defender of *Luther*, a noble setter out, and as true a follower of Christ and hys Gospell: the other hys kynsman, Duke *George*, who is dead, Knight of the order of the Golden Fleece, a great man of the Emperour, a mayntainer of *Cocleus*, and a notable pillar of Papistry.

John Fredericke Duke of Saxony.

Duke *John Fredericke* is now 50 yeares of age, so byg of personage as a very strong horse is scarce able to beare hym, and yet is he a great deale bygger in all kynde of vertues, in wisedome, iustice, liberalitie, stoutnes, temperancy in hym selfe, and humanitie towards others, in all affaires, and either fortunes vsing a singular trouth and stedfastnes: so that *Luice de Auila*, and the Secretary of *Ferrare*, who wrote the story of the first warres in *Germany*, and professe to be his earnest enemies both for matters of state and also of religion, were so compelled by hys worthynes to say the trouth, as though theyr onely purpose had bene to wryte hys prayse. He was fve yeares prisoner in this Court, where he wan such loue of all men, as the *Spanyardes* now say: They would as gladly fight to set hym vp agayne, as euer they dyd to pull hym downe: for they see that he is wise in all his doynge, iust in all his dealynges, lowly to the meanest, princely with the biggest, and excellyng gentle to all, whom no aduersitie could euer moue, nor policy at any tyme entice, to shrinke from God and hys word. And here I must needes commend the Secretary of *Ferrare*, who beyng a Papist,

Papist, and writyng the history of the late warres in *Germany*, doth not kepe backe a goodly testimony of Duke *Frederickes* constancy toward God and hys Religion.

When the Emperour had taken the Duke prisoner, he came shortly after before the citie of *Witemberg*: and beyng aduised by some bloudy counsellours that Duke *Frederickes* death should, by the terrour of it, turne all the Protestantes from theyr religion, caused a write to be made for the Duke to be executed the next mornynge vppon a solemne scaffold, in the sight of his wyfe, children, and the whole citie of *Witemberg*.

This write, signed with the Emperours own hand, was sent ouer night to the Duke, who, when the write came vnto hym, was in hys tent playing at chesse with his cosin and fellow prisoner the *Lansgraue* of *Lithenberg*, and readyng it aduisedly ouer, layd it downe quietly beside, and made no countenance at all at the matter, but sayd, "Cofin, take good heede to your game," and returnyng to his play as quietly as though he had receiued some priuate letter of no great importance, dyd geue the *Lansgraue* a trim mate.

The Emperour (I doubt not) chiefly moued by God; secondly of his great wisdome and naturall clemency, when he vnderstode his merueilous constancie, chaunged his purpose, and reuoked the write; and euer after gaue him more honor, and shewed him more humanitie then any Prince that euer I haue read of haue hetherto done to his prisoner.

He is also such a louer of learnyng as his librarie, furnished with bookes of all tounes and sciences, passeth all other libraries which are yet gathered in Christendome: for my friend *Jeronimus Wolfius*, who translated *Demosthenes* out of *Greeke* into *Latine*, who had sene the *French* kynges librarie at *Augusta*, hath told me, that though in six monethes he was not able onely to write out the titles of the bookes in the *Fuggers* librarie, yet was it not so byg as Duke *Frederickes* was which he saw in *Saxony*. I thinke he vnderstandeth no straunge tounge saue the *Latine* and a litle the *French*: and yet it is merueilous that

my frend *Johannes Sturmius* doth report by writyng, what he heard *Phillip Melancthon* at a tyme say of thys noble Duke: that he thought the Duke dyd priuately read and write more euery day then dyd both he and *D. Aurifaber*, which two were counted in all mens iudgment to be the greatest readers and writers in all the vniuersitie of *Wittemberg*.

And as he doth thus read with such diligence, euen so he can report with such a memory whatsoeuer he doth read, and namely histories, as at his table on euery new occasion he is accustomed to recite some new story, which he doth with such pleasure and vtterance, as men be content to leaue their meat to heare him talke: and yet he him selfe is not disdaynfull to heare the meanest, nor will ouertwhart any mans reason. He talketh without tauntyng, and is mery without scoffyng, deludyng no man for sport, nor nippyng no man for spight.

Two kyndes of men, as his preachers dyd tell me at *Vilacho*, he will neuer long suffer to be in his house: the one a common mocker, who for his pride thincketh so wel of his owne wit as his most delight is to make other men fooles, and where God of his Prouidence hath geuen small wit, he for his sport wil make it none, and rather than he should leese his pleasure, he would an other should leese his wit: as I heare say was once done in *England*, and that by the sufferance of such as I am sorry, for the good wil I beare them, to heare such a report: the other a priuy whisperer, a pickthanke, a tale-teller, medlyng so with other mens matters, as he findeth no leysure to looke to his owne: one such in a great house is able to turne and tosse the quietnes of all. Such two kynde of men, sayeth the Duke, besides the present troubling of others, neuer or feldome come to good end them selues. He loueth not also bold and thicke skinned faces, wherein the meanyng of the harte doth neuer appeare. Nor such hid talke as lyeth in wayte for other mens wittes. But would, that wordes should be so framed with the tounge, as they be alwayes ment in the hart.

A noble
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 when he was prisoner, and now preasyng to sit at his table when he
 was at libertie, because many nobles of the Court came that day to
 dine with the Duke, the gentleman husher gently desired the *Spanyard*
 to spare his rowme for that day for a great personage: but he, coun-
 tenancyng a braue *Spanish* bragge, sayd, " *Seignor*, ye know me well
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and Duke *John Fredericke* armed themselves, not to resist the Emperour, as the Papistes say, but to kepe Gods religion vp, if any by violence would pull it downe, refusing neuer, but requirynge alwayes to referre them and theyr doctrine to a lawfull and free general counsell, where truth and religion might be fully tryed in the hearyng of euen and * equal iudges, and that by the touchstone of Gods Canonickall Scriptures.

Duke *Maurice* in the begynnyng of his warres was suspected neither of the *Lansgraue* nor of Duke *Fredericke*, beyng sonne in law to the one and nigh kynsman to the other, and agreeyng in Religion with both. Yea, he was not onely not suspected; but as I heard skilful men say, he was ready with his counsell, and promised his ayde to helpe forward the enterpryce, or else *Hance Fredericke*, being a Prince of such wisedome, would not haue left at home behind him an enemye of such a force.

Francisco, Duke *Maurice* Agent with the Emperour, was asked, I beyng by at *Augusta*, how he could excuse his masters vnkyndnes towards *John Fredericke* who had bene such a father vnto him. He graunted that Duke *Fredericke* had bene great frend vnto him, and might haue bene a greater if he had would, and then lesse strife had followed then did. "And troth it is (sayd he) as Duke *Fredericke* kept
 " my master in his right, so afterward he put hym from part of his right,
 " when in his young yeares he chopped and chaunged landes with him
 " when he list: which thing my master complaynyng, could neuer ob-
 " tayne remedy therein. Kyndnes should rather haue kyndly encreased,
 " then so unkyndly haue decayed, specially when the one was trusted
 " with all, and the other of such yeares, as he had neither wit to perceiue
 " nor power to amend if any iniury were offred vnto hym. Troth also
 " it is that my master was brought vp in Duke *Frederickes* house: but
 " he hath more cause to complain on them that brought hym thether,
 " then to thanke such as brought him vp there, where he had alwayes
 " plentie of drinke, and as much scant of good teachyng to come to such
 " vertue and learnyng as dyd belong to a Prince of his state."

* *Εν ἴσοις καὶ ὅμοιαις*, wordes alwayes used in *Thucydides* in decyding common controversies.

Now,

Now, whether this talke was altogether true, or, an ill excuse was made to couer a foule fact, I cannot tell: but sure I am *Francisco* sayd thus. I haue heard wise men say, that it is not lyke, that for such a priuate stryfe Duke *Maurice* would haue so forsaken not only his frend and kinsman, but also his father in law, or would for the losse of a litle, or rather for the chaunge of a peece, haue so hassarded his whole estate, which was once in the first warre all gone saue *Lypsia*, and one other towne, beside the losse of loue in whole *Germany*, and his good name amongst all Protestantes, in the midst of whom all his liuyngs do lye.

Well surely there was some great cause that could sturre vp so great a stryfe, and that was, as wyse men and wel willyng on Duke *Maurice* side, in mine opinion, haue truly iudged, the foule vice of ambition.

Why Duke *Maurice* left his dearest frendes and fell in with the Empe-
rour.

O Lord! how many worthy men hath this one vice bearest from good common weales, which for all other respectes were most vnworthy of that end they came vnto. My hart weepes for those noble men of *England*, whose valiantnes in warre, whose wisedome in peace, this realme shal want and wayle, and wish for in tyme to come, which of late, by this onely vice, haue bene taken from vs. Examples lesse for our grief, and as fit for this purpose, be plenty enough in other states.

Ambition.

Ouer many experiences do teach vs, though a Prince be wise, stout, liberall, gentle, mercyfull, and excellently learned; though he deserue all the prayse, that vertue, nature, and fortune can affourd him, yea, that wit it selfe can wish for, as we read that noble *Julius Cæsar* had, and that by the testimony of those that loued him not, neuertheles if the two foule verses of Euripides,

Do right alway, and wrong refraine,
Except onely for rule and raigne.

If these verses, I say, do not onely found well in his eare, but sincke deepe also in his hart, surely there is neither kindred, frendship, law, othe,

THE WORKS OF

othe, obedience, countrey, God, nor his owne lyfe, but he will haffard to leefe all rather then to purfue this foule vice: for *Polynices*, for whom this verfe was firft made in *Greeke*, dyd fill not onely his owne countrey full of dead carcasses, but also whole *Greece* full of weeping widdowes. And *Cæſar*, for whom the ſame verfe was turned into *Latine*, dyd not onely turn vpside down the goodlieſt common wealth that euer God ſuffred to ſtand vppon the earth: but also toſſed the whole world with battayle and ſlaughter, euen almoſt from the ſunne ſettyng vnto the ſunne riſyng. And dyd not ſtop to bryng ſouldiours to do miſchief further then any man now dare iourney by land either for pleaſure or profite.

But ſee the fruite and end which this vngodly great growing bryngeth men vnto: both theſe Princes were ſlaine, the one by his brother, the other by his own ſonne, of whom in lyfe, nature and benefites would they ſhould haue taken moſt comfort of. But men that loue to clime to hye haue alwayes leaſt feare, and therefore by reaſon fall moſt ſuddenly, and alſo fardeſt downe: yea, the very bowghes that helped hym vp will now whip him in falling downe: for who ſo in climyng truſteth when he is goyng vp any bough at all ouer much, though he ſeeme to tread neuer ſo ſurely vppon it, yet if he once begyn to ſlyp, the ſame ſelfe bough is reddieſt to beat him that ſeemed before ſureſt to beare him. Examples hereof be ſeene dayly and forgotten hereby.

An other miſchief chaunceth commonly to theſe high climbers: that they will heare no man ſo gladly as ſuch which are euer hartenyng them to clime ſtill. If wiſe and good men durſt ſpeake more freely then they do: great men ſhould do both others and themſelues leſſe harme then they are wont to do. He hateth him ſelfe, and haſteth his owne hurt, that is content to heare none ſo gladly as either a foole or a flatterer. A wonderfull follie in a great man himſelfe, and ſome piece of miſerie in a whole common wealth, where fooles chiefly and flatterers may ſpeake freely what they will, and wiſe men and good men ſhal commonly be ſhent, if they ſpeake what they ſhould.

And how commeth this to paſſe: it is the very plague of God for great mens finnes, and the plaine high way to their iuſt puniſhment.
And

And when God suffreth them so willingly to graunt freedom to follie, and so gladly to geue hearyng to flattery: but see when the great man is gone and hath playd his part, fooles and flatterers be still vpon the stage. Such liue in all worldes, such laugh in all miseries: such *Dauid* and *Getæ* haue alwayes the longest parties: and go out who shal, they tary in place still. I know also many a good *Mitio*, which haue played long partes, whom I pray God kepe long still vpon the stage. And I trust no man will be discontent with my generall saying, except conscience do pricke him of his owne priuate ill doying.

There be common wealthes where freedome in speakyng truth hath kept great men from boldnes in doing ill: for free and frendly aduise is the trimmest glasse that any great man can vse to spye his owne fault in: which taken away, they runne commonly so farre in foule doying, as some neuer stay till they passe all remedy, saue onely to late repentaunce. And as I would haue no flattery but wish for freedome: so in no wise do I commend ouermuch boldnes, or any kynd of rayling. But that libertie in speakyng should be so mingled with good will and discretion, as no great person should be vnhonourably spoken vppon, or any mean man touched out of order either for sport or spite: as some vnquiet heades, neuer contented with any state, are euer procuryng either secretly with raylyng billes, or openly with tauntyng songes, or els some scoffing common play.

An other kynd of to bold talkers surpasse all these; selly rumors, who are called, and so will be, common discourfers of all Princes affaires. These make a great account of themselues, and will be commonly foremost in any prease, and lustly without blushing shoulder backe others: these will needes seeme to see further in any secret affayre then the best and wisest counsellor a Prince hath. These be the open flatterers and priuy mislikers of all good counsellors doynges. And one common note, the most part of this brotherhode of discourfers commonly cary with them where they be bold to speake: to like better *Tullies Offices* then *St. Paules Epistles*: and a tale in *Bocace*, then a story of the Bible, and therefore for any Religion earnest setters forth of present tyme: with consciences confirmed with *Machiauelles* doctrine to thincke, say, and do what soeuer may serue best for profite or pleasure.

But as concerning flatterers and raylers to say mine opinion whether I lyke worfe, surely as I haue read few men to haue bene hurt with bitter poysons: so haue I heard of as few great men to haue bene greatly harmed with sharpe talke, but are so ware therein, that commonly they wil complayne of theyr hurt before they feelee harme. And flattery agayne is so sweete, that it pleaseth best when it hurteth most, and therefore is alwayes to be feared, because it alwayes delighteth. But in looking aside to these hye climbers, I haue gone out of the way of mine owne matter.

To return to Duke *Maurice*, he saw that Duke *Frederickes* fallyng might be his risynge, and perchaunce was moued with some old iniuries, but beyng of young yeares, and of nature full of desire and courage, he was a trimme pray for old practisers to be easily caryed away with fayre new promises, foundyng altogether to honor and profite, and so he forsoke his father and his frend, and became wholly the Emperours till he had brought both them into prison. Duke *Fredericke* was taken in the field, and so became the Emperours iust prisoner. Yet as long as the *Lansgraue* was abroad, the Emperour thought his purpose neuer atchieued, and therefore practised a new with Duke *Maurice* to get him also into his handes.

Duke *Maurice* with *Joachim* Elector of *Bradenburge* became meanes betwixt the *Lansgraue* and the Emperour. Conditions both of mercy from the one, and of amendes from the other, were drawen out. *Maurice* and the Marches bound them selues sureties to the *Lansgraues* children, for theyr fathers safe returne: for amongest the rest of conditions this was one of the chiefeft, that he should come in no prison. And so at *Hala* in *Saxony*, he came boldly to the Emperours presence, who receiued him not very cherefully, nor gaue him not his hande, which in *Germany* is the very token of an assured reconciliation.

The Duke of *Alua* made the *Lansgraue* a supper, and called also thether Duke *Maurice*, and the Marches of *Bradenburge*, where they had great chere: but after supper it was told Duke *Maurice* and the Marches that they might depart, for the *Lansgraue* must lodge there that night.

On the morrow, they reasoned of the matter wholly to this purpose, that the Emperour promised the *Lansgraues* person ought not to be kept. Aunswere was made that the Emperour went no further then conditions led him, which were that he should not be kept in euerlastyng prison. When I was at *Villacho* in *Carinthia* I asked Duke *Frederickes* Preacher what were the very wordes in *Dutch*, whereby the *Lansgraue* agaynst his lookyng was kept in prison. He sayd the fallacion was very pretty and notable, and tooke his penne and wrote in my booke the very wordes wherein the very controversie stode. Duke *Maurice* sayd it was,

Nicht in einig gefengknes. i. Not in any prison. The Imperials sayd no, but thus;

Nicht in ewig gefengknes. i. Not in euerlastyng prison. And how soon *einig* may be turned into *ewig*, not with scrape of knife, but with the least dash of a pen, so that it shall neuer be perceiued, a man that will proue may easely see.

Moreouer, *Luice d' Auila* in his booke doth reioyce that the *Lansgraue* dyd so deceaue hym selfe with his owne conditions, in makyng of which, as *D' Auila* sayth, he was wont to esteeme his owne wit aboue all other mens. Well, how so euer it came to passe the *Lansgraue* was kept in prison. And from that hour Duke *Maurice* fell from the Emperour, thinckyng hym selfe most vnkyndly handled, that he, by whose meanes chiefly the Emperour had won such honor in *Saxony*, must now be rewarded with shame in all *Germany*, and be called a traytor to God, and his countrey, his father, and his frend. And though he was greeued at hart, yet he bare all thynges quietly in countenance, purposing though he had lost will yet would he not leese his profite, and so hidyng his hurt presently, whilest some fitter tyme should discouer some better remedy, he went with the Emperour to *Augusta*, where, accordyng to his promise, he was made Elector. Yet the same night after his solemne creation, two verses set vppon his gate might more greue hym, than all that honor could delight hym, which were these.

*Seu Dux, seu Princeps, seu tu dicaris Elektor.
Maurici es Patriæ proditor ipse tuæ.*

After that he had gotten that he looked for, he gat him home into his countrey: from whence afterward the Emperour with no policie could euer bryng him, he alwayes alledgyng, the feare he had of some sturre by Duke *Frederickes* children.

Hitherto the *Germanes* much mislyked the doynges of Duke *Maurice*. But after that he had felt him selfe so vnkyndly abused as for his good seruice to be made the betrayer of his father, he tooke such matters in hand, and brought them so to passe, as he recouered the loue of his countrey, and purchased such hate of his enemies, as the *Spanyardes* tooke theyr displeasure from all other, and bestowed wholly vppon the Duke *Maurice*: and yet he bare him selfe with such wit and courage agaynst them, as they had alwayes cause to feare hym, and neuer occasion to contemne hym: yea, if he had liued, he would sooner men thincke haue driuen all *Spanyardes* out of *Germany*, then they should haue hurt hym in *Saxony*, for he had ioyned vnto hym such strength, and there was in hym such pollicie, as they durst neuer haue come vppon hym with power, nor neuer should haue gone beyond hym with wit. He had so displeased the Emperour, as he knew wel neither his landes nor his lyfe could make amendes, when 10 poundes of benefites which he was able to do, could not way with one ounce of displeasure that he had already done: and therefore neuer after sought to seeke his loue which he knew could neuer be gotten: but gaue hym selfe wholly to set vp *Maximilian*, who beyng hym selfe of great power, and of all other most beloued for his worthynes in all *Germany*, and now vsyng the head and hand of Duke *Maurice* and his frendes, and hauyng the helpe of as many as hated the *Spanyardes*, that is to say, almost all Protestantes and Papistes to in *Germany*, he should easely haue obtained what soeuer he had gone about. But that bonde is now broken: for euen this day when I was writyng this place, came word to this Court, that Marches *Albert* and Duke *Maurice* had fought, where the Marches had lost the field, and Duke *Maurice* had lost his lyfe: which whole battail, because it is notable, I would here at length descrybe,

scrybe, but that I should wander to farre from my purposed matter: and therefore I in another place, or els some other with better opportunitie, shall at large report the matter.

Ye see the cause why and the time when Duke *Maurice* fell from the Emperour. And because he was so notable a Prince, I will describe also the maner how he proceeded in all these doynges, as I learned amongest them that did not greatly loue him. And because it were small gayne to flatter hym that is gone, and great shame to lye vppon hym that is dead, for pleasynge any that be alyue, I so will report on hym as his doynges since my commyng to this Court haue deserued.

He was now of the age of 32 yeares, well faced, in countenance, complection, fauour and beard not much vnlyke to Syr *Raffe Sadler*, but some deale higher, and well and strong made to beare any labour and payne. He was once (men say) geuen to drinkyng, but now he had cleane left it, contented with small diet and litle sleepe in this last yeares, and therefore had a wakyng and workyng head: and became so witty and secrete, so hardy and ware, so skillfull of wayes, both to do harme to others, and keepe hurt from hym selfe, as he neuer tooke enterpryse in hand wherein he put not his aduersary alwayes to the worse. And to let other matter of *Germany* passe, euen this last yeare, within the compassse of eight monethes, he professed hym selfe open enemy agaynst foure the greatest powers that I know vppon earth; the *Turke*, the *Pope*, the *Emperour*, and the *French* kyng, and obtained his purpose, and wan prayse agaynst them all foure: for he in person, and pollicie, and courage, dispatched the *Turkes* purpose and power this last yeare in *Hungary*. The Councell of *Trent*, which the Pope and the Emperour went so The Pope. about to establishe, he onely brought to none effect: first by open protestation agaynst that councell, and after by commyng with his army to *Insburge*, he brought such feare to the Bishops there gathered, that they ran euery one farre away from thence, with such speed as they neuer durst hetherto speake of meeting there agayne. And how he dealt with the Emperour, both in forcynge him to flye from *Insburge*, The Empe- and compellyng him to such a peace at *Passe*, my whole *Diarium* shall^{four.} at full instruct you.

French
kyng. And of all other he serued the *French* kyng best, who fayre pretend-
yng the deliuey of the two Princes captiues, and the maintenaunce of
Religion and libertie in *Germany*, purposed in very deede nothyng els,
but the destruction of the Emperour, and the house of *Austria*: for
what cared he for religion abroad, who at home not onely followeth
none hymselfe priuately in his lyfe, but also persecuteth the trouthe in
others openly with the sword. But I do hym wrong to say he follow-
eth none, who could for his purpose be content at one time to embrace
all: and for to do hurt enough to the Emperour would become at once
by solemne league, Protestant, Papish, Turkish, and deuillish. But
such Princes that cary nothyng els but the name of bearyng vp Gods
word, deserue the same prayse and the same end that that Prince dyd,
who semed so ready to beare vp the Arke of the Lord, and yet otherwise
pursued Gods true Prophetes and his word.

Agayne, how much the *French* kyng cared for the libertie of *Ger-
many* he well declared in stealyng away so vn honorably from the Empire
the City of METZ. But he thinckyng to abuse Duke *Maurice* for his
ambitious purpose, in very deede and in the end Duke *Maurice* vsed him
as he should: for first he made hym pay well for the whole warres in
Germany, as it is said, 200000 crownes a moneth: and after when the
French kyng fell to catchyng of Cities, Duke *Maurice* tendryng the state
of his countrey, brake of with hym, and began to parle with the good
kyng of *Romanes* at *Luiz*, which thyng heard when the *French* kyng
came within two myles of the *Rbene*, he straight way hyed more hastily,
and with more disorder, for all his great haste, out of *Germany*, as
they say that were there, then the Emperour beyng sicke without com-
pany, and pressed by his enemy, dyd go from *Insburge*.

And see how noble Duke *Maurice* dyd, which for the loue of his
countrey, durst fall from the *French* kyng before he atchieued any thyng
agaynst the Emperour. And rather then *Germany* should leese her cities
so by the *French* kyng, he had leuer haffard, both the leesyng of his en-
terprice, and also the leauyng of his father in law still in prison with
the Emperour. But as he had wit to take money plenty of the *French*
kyng, so had he wit also to furnish hym selfe so from home as he durst
first fall out with the *French* kyng, and durst also after to set vppon
the

the Emperour, till he had brought his honest purpose to passe. For there is not almost any in this Court but they will say Duke *Maurice* did honestly in deliueying his father by strong hand, which before left no fayre meane vnproued to do that humbly by intreaty, which after, he was compelled to bryng to passe stoutly by force. And I pray you marke well what he dyd, and then iudge truly if any thing was done that he ought not to do.

For first he hym selfe with the Marches of *Bradenburge* most humbly by priuate sute laboured for the *Lansgraues* deliuey, offryng to the Emperour, princely offers, and not to be refused: as a huge summe of money: a fayre quantitie of great ordinaunce, certaine holdes of his, some to be defaced, some geuen to the Emperour: and also personall pledges of great houses, for his good haberaunce all the residue of his lyfe.

Duke Maurice offer for the Lansgrave deliuey.

After when this sute was not regarded, they againe procured all the Princes and states of *Germany*, beyng at the Diet at *Augusta*, an. 1548. to be humble intercessors for hym, offryng the selfe same conditions rehearsed before, addyng this more, to become sureties themselves in any bande to his Maiestie for his due obedience for tyme to come.

Thirdly by the Prince of *Spayne* Duke *Maurice* neuer left to entreat the Emperour, yea, he was so careful of the matter, that his Ambassadors followed the Prince euen to his shipping at *Genoa*: who had spoken often presently before, and wrote earnestly from thence to his father for the *Lansgraues* deliuey, and it would not be. And wyse men may say it was not the wyfest deede that euer the Emperour dyd, to deny the Prince this sute: for if the Prince had bene made the deliuerer of the two Princes out of captiuitie, he had won thereby such fauour in all *Germany*, as without all doubt he had bene made coadiutor with the K. of *Romaines* his vncler, and afterward the Emperour. Which thyng was lustly denyed to the Emperour by the Electors, though he laboured in the matter so fore as he neuer dyd in any other before.

Fourthly this last yeare, a little before the open warres, Duke *Maurice* procured once agayne, not onely all the Princes and free estates of *Germany*, but also the kyng of *Romaines*, *Ferdinand*, *Maximilian* his sonne
Kyng

Kyng of *Boeme*, the Kyng of *Pole*, the Kyng of *Denmarke*, the Kyng of *Sweeden*, to send also theyr Ambassadors for this suite, so that at once 24 Ambassadors came before the Emperour together at *Insburge*. To whom when the Emperour had geuen very fayre wordes in effect containing a double meanyng aunswere, and that was this: "That it dyd
 " him good to see so noble an Ambassage at once. And therefore so
 " many Princes should well vnderstand that he would make a good
 " accompt of their sute. Neuertheles because Duke *Maurice* was the
 " chiefeſt partie herein, he would with ſpeede ſend for him, and uſe his
 " head for the better endyng of this matter." But Duke *Maurice* ſeyng that all theſe Ambassadors went home without him, and the matter was referred to his preſent talke, who was neuer heard in the matter before, he wyſely met with this double meanyng aunswere of the Emperours with a double meanyng *replica* agayne, for he promiſed the Emperour to come; and at laſt in deede came ſo haſtly, and ſo hotely, as the Emperour could not abyde the heat of his breath: for when Duke *Maurice* ſaw that all humble ſutes, all quiet meanes were ſpent in vayne, and had to beare hym iuſt witnes therein all the Princes of *Germany*: firſt with cloſe pollicie, after open power both wittely and ſtoutly, he atchieued more by force then he required by ſuite: for the Emperour was glad to condeſcend (which ſurely in an extreme aduerſitie was done like a wiſe Prince) without money, without artillery, without defacyng of holdes, without receiuyng of pledges, to ſend the *Lansgraue* home honorably accompanied with (at the Emperours charges) the nobilitie of *Brabant* and *Flaunders*.

This laſt day I dyed with the Ambaſſadour of *Venice* in companie of many wyſe heades, where Duke *Maurice* was greatly prayſed of ſome for his wit: of others for the execution of his purpoſes. " Well, ſayth
 " a luſty *Italian* Prieſt, I cannot much prayſe his wit, which might
 " haue had the Emperour in his handes and would not." Loe ſuch be theſe *Machiauels* heades, who thincke no man haue ſo much wit as he ſhould, except he do more miſchief then he neede. But Duke *Maurice* purpoſyng to do no harme to the Emperour, but good to his father in law, obtainyng the one purſued not the other. Yea I know it to be moſt true when we fled from *Insburge* ſo haſtly, Duke *Maurice* ſent a poſt to the good Kyng of *Romanes*, and bad hym will the Emperour to make
 no

no such speede, for he purposed not to hurt his person, but to helpe his frend, whereupon the Diet at *Passo* immediatly folowed.

I commend rather the iudgement of *John Baptist Gascaldo*, the Em-^{John Baptist Gascaldo.}perours man and the Kyng of *Romanes* generall in *Hungary*, who is not wont to say better, or loue any man more than he should, specially *Germaines*, and namely Protestantes. And yet this last winter he wrote to the Emperour that he had marked Duke *Maurice* well in all his doynge agaynst the *Turke*, and of all men that euer he had sene, he had a head to forecast the best with pollicie and wit, and a hart to set vppon it with courage and speed, and also a discreffion to stay most wisely vppon the very pricke of aduantage.

Marches *Marignan* told some in this Court foure yeares ago that Duke *Maurice* should become the greatest enemy to the Emperour that euer the Emperour had: whiche thing he iudged (I belieue) not of any troublesome nature which he saw in Duke *Maurice*, but of the great wronges that were done to Duke *Maurice*, knowing that he had both wit to perceiue them quietly, and also a courage not to beare them ouer long.

Some other in this Court that loued not Duke *Maurice*, and hauyng no hurt to do hym by power, went about to say hym some for spight, and therefore wrote these two spightfull verses agaynst hym.

* *Jugurtham Mauricus prodit Mauricus ultra,
Henricum, Patruum, Socerum, cum Cæsare, Gallum.*

He that gaue me this verse added thereunto this his iudgement, "Well (sayth he) he that could finde in his hart to betray his frend Duke *Henry* of *Brunswicke*, his nigh kinsman Duke *Fredericke*, his father in law the *Lansgraue*, his foueraigne Lord the Emperour, his confederate the *French* Kyng, breakyng all bondes of frendshyp, nature, law, obedience, and othe, shall besides all these deceaue all men, if at length he do not deceaue hym selfe." This verse and this sentence, the one made of spight, the other spoken of displeasure, be here com-

* The former distich was in the old edition corrupt, and still remains barbarous in the prosody: the same defect will remain in this, though it be reformed as I believe it was written, thus, *Jugurtham Maurus prodit, Mauricius ultra.*

mended

Duke Maurice.

mended as men be affectioned. For my part as I can not accuse hym for all, so will I not excuse hym for part. And yet since I came to this Court I should do hym wrong if I dyd not confesse that which as wise heades as be in this Court haue iudged on hym, euen those that for countrey and Religion were not his frendes, that is, to haue shewed hym selfe in all these affayres betwixt the Emperour and hym: first, humble in intreatyng, diligent in pursuyng, witty in purposing, secret in workyng, fearece to force by open warre, ready to parley for common peace, wyse in choyse of conditions, and iust in performyng of couenaunts.

And I know he offended the Emperour beyond all remedy of amendes: so would I be loth to see as I haue once sene, his Maiestie fall so agayne into any enemyes handes: lest peraduenture lesse gentlenes would be found in hym then was found in Duke *Maurice*, who when he was most able to hurt, was most ready to hold his hand, and that agaynst such an enemye, as he knew well would neuer loue him, and should alwayes be of most power to reuenge. If Duke *Maurice* had had a *Machiauels* head or a cowardes hart, he would haue worne a bloudyer sword then he dyd, which he neuer drew out in all these sturres, but once at the *Cluce*, and that was to saue the Emperours men.

Hitherto I haue followed the order of persons, whiche hath caused me somewhat to misorder both tyme and matter, yet where diuers great affayres come together, a man shall wryte confusedly for the matter, and vnpleasantly for the reader, if he vse not such an apt kynde of partition as the matter will best affourde, "Whiche thyng (*Plato* sayth) "who can not do, knoweth not how to write." Herein *Herodotus* deserueth in myne opinion a great deale more prayse then *Thucidides*, although he wrote of a matter more confused for places, tyme and persons, then the other dyd.

In this point also *Appianus Alexandrinus* is very commendable, and not by chaunce but by skil doth follow this order, declaryng in his Prologue iust causes why he should do so. Our wryters in late tyme, both in *Latin* and other tounes, commonly confound to many matters together, and so wryte well of no one. But see, Master *Astley*, I thinckyng to be in some present talke with you, after our old wont, do seeme to forget both my selfe and my purpose.

For the rest that is behind I will vse a grose and homely kind of talke with you: for I will now, as it were, cary you out of *England* with me, and will lead you the same way that I went, euen to the Emperours Court, beyng at *Augusta*, an. 1550. And I will let you see in what case it stode, and what thynges were in doying when we came first thether. After, I will cary you, and that apace, because the chiefeft matters be thoroughly touched in this my former booke, through the greateft affaires of two yeares in this Court. Yea, in order till we haue brought Duke *Maurice* (as I promised you) to ioyne with Marches *Albert* in besiegyng *Augusta*. And then, because priuy practises braist out into open sturres, I might better marke thynges dayly then I could before. And so we will depart with the Emperour from *Insburge*, and see dayly what chaunces were wrought by feare and hope in this Court, till hys Maiestie left the siege of *Metz*, and came downe hether to *Bruxels*: where then all thynges were shut vp into secret practises, till, last of all, they brake forth into new mischiefes, betwixt the Emperour and *Fraunce* in *Picardy*, and also betwixt Duke *Maurice* and the Marches in hyghe *Germany*; which thynges, I trust, some other shall marke and describe a great deale better then I am hable to doe.

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Quæ videt ars, usus visa parata facit.

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Sumere si libet, hoc sumere forte liceat.
Aschanus est author, magnum quem fecit Apollo,
Atque sua, magnum Talaris et ante sua.
Dacta manus dedit hunc, dedit hunc manu dacta bellum.
Quis videt ars, vides vides parata fecit.
Optimus hoc author, quia tradidit optima scripta.
Convenit hoc nobis optima velle scribi.

* Of King's College. Hadon was famous for his Latin style, of which he has given
no living specimen; but the first rule of art is to compare with the work of others.
The first rule is to be in the power of elegance.

To all the Gentlemen and Yomen of ENGLANDE.

BI A S the wyfe man came to *Crefus* the riche Kinge, on a time, when he was makinge newe shippes, purpofinge to have subdued by water the out isles lying betwixte *Grece* and *Asia Minor*. "What newes nowe in *Grece*?" sayth the Kinge to *Bias*. "None other newes but these," sayth *Bias*: "that the isles of *Grece* have prepared a wonderful company of horsemen to over-run *Lydia* withal." "There is nothing under heaven, sayth the Kinge, that I would so soone wish, as that they durst be so bolde, to meete us on the land with horse." "And thinke you," sayth *Bias*, "that there is any thinge which they would sooner wishe, then that you should be so fonde, to meete them on the water with shippes?" And so *Crefus*, hearing not the true newes, but perceyving the wyfe mannes minde and counsell, both gave then over makinge of his shippes, and left also behinde him a wonderful example for al common wealthes to followe: that is, evermore to regarde and set most by that thinge w^h runto nature hath made them most apt, and use hath made them most fitte.

By this matter I meane the shooting in the longe bow, for *Englishe-men*: which thinge, with al my hart I do wishe, and if I were of * authority, I would counsell all the gentlemen and yomen of *Englande*, not to chaunge it with any other thinge, howe good soever it seeme to be, but that stil, according to the olde wont of *Englande*, youth should use it for the most honest pastime in peace, that men might handle it as a most sure weapon in warre. Other † stronge weapons, which both experience doth prove to be good, and the wisedome of the Kinges Majesty and his counsel provides to be had, are not ordayned to take

* *Authority* is here used not for *Power*, but for *Credit* or *Influence*.

† Fire-arms began about this time to be made, for the hand ordnance or great guns seeme to have been near a century employed in war before hand-guns were much used.

THE WORKS OF

awaye shooting: but that both, not compared together, whether should be better than the other, but so joynd together, that the one should be alwayes an ayde and helpe for the other, might so strengthen the realme on all sides, that no kinde of enemye, in any kinde of weapon, might passe and go beyonde us.

For this purpose I, partlye provoked by the counsell of some gentlemen, partlye moved by the love which I have alwayes borne toward shootinge, have written this litle treatise; wherein, if I have not satisfied any man, I trust he will the rather be content with my doinge, because I am (I suppose) the first, which hath said any thinge in this matter, (and fewe beginniges be perfect, sayth wyse men :) and also because, if I have faide amisse, I am content that any man amende it, or, if I have said to litle, any man that will to adde what him pleaseth to it.

My minde is, in profiting and pleasing every man, to hurt or displease no man, intending none other purpose, but that youth might be stirred to labour, honest pastime, and vertue, and as much as laye in me, plucked from ydlenes, unthrifty games, and vice: which thinge I have laboured onlye in this booke, shewing howe fit shootinge is for all kindes of men; howe honest a pastime for the minde; howe holosome an exercise for the bodye; not vile for great men to use, not costly for poore men to sustayne, not lurking in holes and corners for ill men at their pleasure to misuse it, but abydinge in the open fighte and face of the worlde, for good men if it fault by theyr wysedome to correct it.

And here I would desire al gentlemen and yomen to use this pastime in such a meane, that the outragiousness of great gaminge should not hurt the honestye of shootinge, which, of his owne nature, is alwayes joynd with honestye: yet for mennes faultes oftentimes blamed unworthelye, as all good thinges have bene, and evermore shal be.

If any man would blame me, eyther for takinge such a matter in hande, or els for wrytinge it in the *Englishe* tongue, this aunswere I may make him, that when the best of the realme thincke it honest for them to use, I, one of the meanest forte, ought not to suppose it vile for me to wryte: and thoughe to have written it in another tongue, had bene

bene both more profitable for my study, and also more * honest for my name, yet I can thinke my laboure well bestowed, if with a little hindrance of my profite and name, may come any furtherance to the pleasure or commodity of the gentlemen and yomen of *Englande*, for whose sake I toke this matter in hand. And as for the *Latine* or *Greeke* tongue, everye thinge is so excellentlye done in them, that none can do better: In the *Englishe* tongue, contrary, everye thinge in a maner so meanlye both for the matter and handelinge, that no man can do worse. For therein the least learned, for the most part, have bene alwayes most readye to write. And they which had least hope in *Latine*, have bene most bould in *Englishe*: when surelye everye man that is most readye to talke, is not most able to write. He that will write well in any tongue, must follow this counsel of *Aristotle*, to speake as the comon people do, to thinke as wyse men do: as so shoulde everye man understand him, and the judgement of wyse men alowe him. Manye *Englishe* writers have not done so, but usinge straunge wordes, as *Latine*, *Frenche*, and *Italian*, do make all thinges darke and harde. Ones I communed with a man which reasoned the *Englishe* tongue to be enriched and encreased thereby, sayinge: "Who will not prayse that feast where a man shall drinke at a dinner both wyne, ale and beere?" "Truly (quoth I) they be al good, every one taken by himselfe alone, but if you put malvesye and sacke, redde wyne and white, ale and beere, and al in one pot, you shall make a drinke not easye to be knowne, nor yet holsome for the bodye." *Cicero*, in folowing *Isocrates*, *Plato* and *Demosthenes*, encreased the *Latine* tongue after another sort. This way, because divers men that wryte, do not know, they can neyther folow it, because of theyr ignoraunce, nor yet will prayse it for over arrogancye, two faultes, seldome the one out of the others companye. *Englishe* writers, by diversity of time, have taken dyvers matters in hand. In our fathers time no thinge was read but bookes of fayned chevalrie, wherin a man by readinge shoulde be led to none other ende, but onely to manslaughter and baudrye. If anye man suppose they were good enough to passe the time with all, he is deceived. For surelye vaine wordes do worke no small thinge in vaine, ignorant, and young mindes, especially if they be geven any thinge thereunto of their owne nature. These bookes (as I have heard say) were made the most part in abbayes, and monasteries, a very likely and fit fruite of such an ydle and blind kind of lyving. In our tyme now,

* *Honest* is here used for *honourable*.

when every man is geuen to know, much rather than to live wel, very many do write, but after such a fashion as very many do shoote. Some shooters take in hande stronger bowes, than they be able to * maintaine. This thinge maketh them some time to over shoote the marke, some time to shoote far wyde, and perchaunce hurt some that looke on. Other that never learned to shoote, nor yet knoweth good shaft nor bow, wil be as busy as the best, but suche one commonlye † plucketh down a side, and crafty archers which be against him, will be both glad of him, and also ever redye to lay and bet with him: It were better for such one to sit down than shote. Other there be, which have very good bow and shafts, and good knowledge in shootinge, but they have been brought up in such evill favoured shootinge, that they can neither shoote ‡ fayre nor yet nere. If any man will applye these thinges together, shal not se the one far differ from the other. And I also, amonges all other, in wryting this litle treatise, have folowed some yong shooters, which both wil begin to shote, for a litle money, and also wil use to shoote ones or twise about the marke for nought, afore they begin a good. And therefore dyd I take this litle matter in hand, to assay myse, and hereafter, by the grace of God, if iudgement of wyse men, that loke on, thinke that I can do anye good, I may perchance cast my shaft among other, for better game. Yet in writing this booke, some man wil marveile perchance, why that I beyng an unperfect shooter, should take in hand to write of makying a perfect archer: the same man, peradventure, wil marveile howe a whetstone, whiche is blunt, can make the edge of a knife sharpe: I would the same man should consider also, that in going about any matter, there be four things to be considered, doing, saying, thincking, and perfectnes: First, there is no man that doth so well, but he can say better, || or els some men, whiche be now starke nought, should be too good: Again, no man can utter with his tongue, so wel as he is able to imagine with his minde, and yet perfectnes itselke is far above al thinkinge. Then, seyng that saying is one step nerer perfectnes than doing, let every man leave marveyling why my worde shal rather expresse, than my dede shall perfourme, perfect shootinge.

* To *maintain* is to *manage*.

† To *pluck down aside*, I believe, is to shoot on one side into the ground.

‡ Neither shoot gracefully nor exactly.

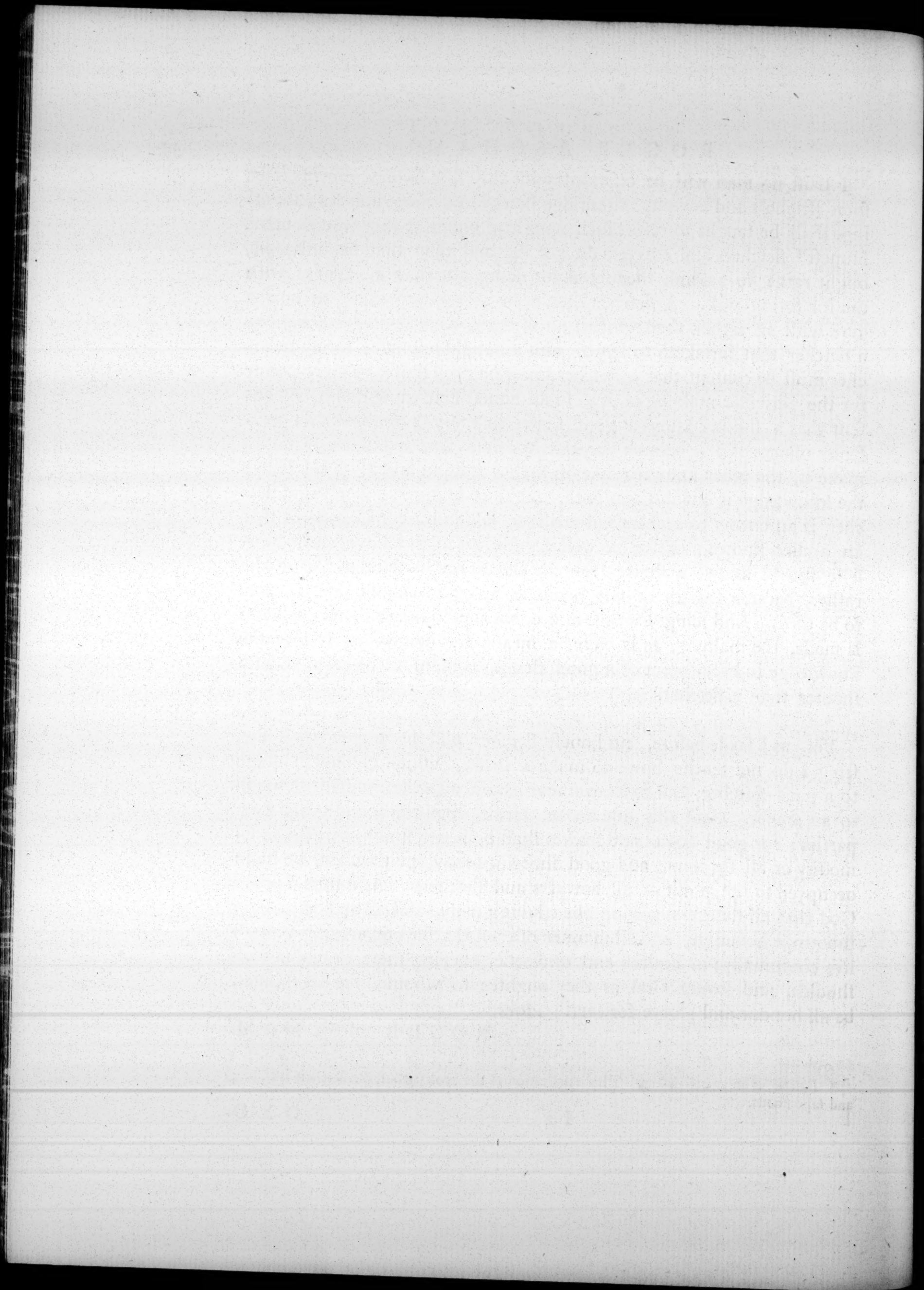
|| This passage is somewhat confused. The meaning is, that if from what men say we could infer what they do, we might think many to be good, whom we hear talking well, whom yet we know to be bad, because they live ill.

I trust no man will be offended with this litle booke, excepte it be some fletchers and bowyers, thinkinge hereby that many that love shootinge shall be taught to refuse such noughtye wares as they woulde utter. Honest* fletchers and bowyers do not so, and they that be dishonest, ought rather to amende themselves for doing ill, than be angrie with me for saying well. A fletcher hath even as good a quarell to be angrie with an archer that refuseth an ill shaft, as a blade-smith hath to a fletcher that forsaketh to bye of him a noughtye knyfe; for as an archer must be content that a fletcher knowe a good shafte in every pointe for the perfecter making of it; so an honest fletcher will also be content that a shooter know a good shafte in everye pointe, for the perfecter usinge of it; because the one knoweth like a fletcher howe to make it, the other knoweth like an archer how to use it. And feinge the knowledge is one in them both, yet the ende divers; surely that fletcher is an enemy to archers and artillery, which cannot be content that an archer knowe a shafte, as well for his use in shootinge, as he himselfe should knowe a shafte, for his advantage in felling. And the rather, because shaftes be not made so much to be sold, but chieflie to be used. And feinge that use and occupyng is the ende why a shafte is made, the making, as it were, a meane for occupyng, surelye the knowledge in every point of a good shafte, is more to be required in a shooter than a fletcher.

Yet, as I sayde before, no honest fletcher will be angrie with me, feing I do not teache howe to make a shafte, which belongeth onely to a good fletcher, but to knowe and handle a shafte, which belongeth to an archer. And this litle booke, I trust, shall please and profit both parties: for good bowes and shaftes shall be better knowne to the commodity of all shooters, and good shootinge may, perchaunce, be more occupied to the profit of all bowyers and fletchers. And thus I praye God that all fletchers, getting their lyving truly, and all archers, usinge shootinge honestlye, and all manner of men that favour artillerye, maye live continuallye in healthe and merinesse, obeying theyr Prince as they shoulde, and loving God as they oughte: to whome, for all thinges, be all honour and glorye for ever. *Amen.*

R O G E R A S C H A M.

* *Fletcher* is an arrow-maker. This vindication of the book against the fletchers is trifling and superfluous.



T O X O P H I L U S.

A.

The FIRST BOOKE of the SCHOLE OF SHOOTINGE.

PHILOLOGUS. TOXOPHILUS.

PHILOLO- **Y**OU studye to sore, *Toxophilus*. Tox. I will not
GUS. hurt myselfe over much, I warrant you. PHI. Take
heede you do not, for we physitions saye, that it is neyther good for
the eyes in so cleare a funne, nor yet holesome for the body, so soone
after meate, to looke upon a mans booke. Tox. In eatinge and
studyng I will never folowe any physicke, for if I did, I am sure I
should have small pleasure in the one, and lesse courage in the other.
But what news drave you hither, I pray you? PHI. Small news,
trulye, but that as I came on walkinge, I fortun'd to come with three
or four that went to shoote at the prickes: and when I sawe not you
amonges them, but at the last espyed you lookinge on your booke here
so * sadlye, I thought to come and hold you with some communication,
lest your booke shoulde run away with you. For methought by your
waveringe pace, and earnest lookinge, your booke ledde you, not you
it. Tox. Indeede, as it chaunced, my minde went faster then
my feete, for I happened here to reade in *Phedro Platonis*, a place that
entreates wonderfullie of the nature of soules, which place, whethir it
were for the passinge eloquence of *Plato*, and the *Greeke* tongue; or for
the highe and godlye description of the matter, kepte my minde so oc-
cupyed, that it had no leisure to looke to my feete. For I was read-
ynge how some soules, beinge well feathered, flew alwayes about hea-
ven and heavenly matters, other some havinge their feathers mouted

* So seriously.

away

~~away and droupinge, sancke downe into earthlye thinges.~~

PHI. I remember the place very well, and it is wonderfullie fayd of *Plato*, and now I see it was no marveile though your feete fayled you, seinge your minde flewe so faste.

TOX. I am glad now that you letted me, for my heade akes with lookinge on it, and because you tell me so, I am very forye that I was not with those good fellowes you spake upon, for it is a very fayre day for a man to shoote in.

PHI. And, methinke, you were a great deale better occupied, and in better company, for it is a very fayre day for a man to go to his booke in.

TOX. All dayes and wethers will serve for that purpose, and surely this occasion was ill lost.

PHI. Yea, but cleare weather maketh cleare mindes, and it is best, as I suppose, to spende the best time upon the best thinges: and me thought you shotte verie well, and at that marke, at whiche everye good scholer shoulde most busilye shote at. And I suppose it be a great deale more pleasure also to see a soule flye in *Plato*, than a shafte flye at the prickes. I graunte you, shootinge is not the worste thinge in the world, yet if we shote, and time shote, we are not like to be great winners at the lengthe. And you know also we scholers have more earnest and weightye matters in hande, nor we be not borne to pastime and playe, as you knowe well enoughe who sayeth.

M. Cic. in
Off.

Arist. de mo-
ribus, 10. 6.

Arist. Pol.
8. 3.

TOX. Yet the same man, in the same place, *Philologe*, by your leave, doth admitte holesome, honest, and manerlye pastimes, to be as necessarye to be mingled with sadde matters of the minde, as eatinge and sleapinge is for the healthe of the bodye, and yet we be borne for neyther of both. And *Aristotle* himselfe sayth, that althoughe it were a fonde and a childishe thinge to be to earnest in pastime and playe, yet doth he affirme, by the authority of the olde poet *Epicharmus*, that a man may use play for earnest matters sake. And in another place, that, as rest is for laboure, and medecines for healthe, so is pastime, at times, for sadde and weightye studye.

PHI. How muche in this matter is to be geven to the authoritye eyther of *Aristotle* or *Tullye* I can not tell, seinge sadde men may well enoughe speake merilye for a merye matter: this I am sure, whiche thinge this fayre wheate (God save it) maketh mee remember, that those husbandmen whiche ryse earlyest, and come latest home, and are contente to have theyr dinner and other drinkynges broughte into the felde to them, for feare of loosinge of tyme, have fatter barnes in the harvest, than they which will either sleape at noone tyme of the day

day, or els make merye with theyr neighbours at the ale. And so a
 scholar that purposeth to be a good husbände, and desyreth to reape
 and enioye much fruite of learninge, must till and sowe * thereafter.
 Our best seede tyme, whiche be scholars, as it is very tymely, and when
 we be yonge: so it endureth not over long, and therefore it may not
 be let slippe one houre: our grounde is very harde, and full of weedes,
 our horse wherewith we be drawen very wilde, as *Plato* sayth. And In *Phædro.*
 infinite other mo lettes, which will make a thriftye scholer take heede
 howe he spendeth his time in sport and playe. Tox. That *Aristotle*
 and *Tullye* spake earnestlye, and as they thoughte, the earnest matter
 whiche they entreate upon, doth plainlye prove. And, as for your hus-
 bandrye, it was more † probablye tolde with apte wordes proper to the
 thinge, than thoroughlye proved with reasons belonginge to our matter.
 For, contrarywyse, I heard myselfe a good husbände at his booke once
 faye, that to omitte studye some tyme of the daye, and some tyme of
 the yeare, made as much for the encrease of learnynge, as to let the
 lande lye some tyme falloe, maketh for the better increase of corne.
 This we see, if the lande be plowed every yeare, the corne cometh
 thinne up: the ear is short, the grain is small, and, when it is brought
 into the barne and threshed, geveth very evill ‡ faule. So those which
 never leave poringe on theyr bookes, have oftentimes as thinne inven-
 tion, as other poore men have, and as small witte and weight in it
 as in other mens. And thus your husbandrye, me thincke, is more like
 the life of a covetous snudge that ofte very evill proves, then the labour
 of a good husbände that knoweth well what he doth. And surelye
 the best wittes to learninge must needes have much recreation and ceas-
 ynge from theyr booke, or els they marre themselves; when base and
 dompishe wittes can never be hurte with continual studye, as ye see in
 lutinge, that a treble minikin stringe must alwayes be let downe, but
 at such tyme as when a man must needes play, when the base and dull
 stringe needeth never to be moved out of his place. The same reason
 I finde true in two bowes that I have, whereof the one is quicke of
 caste, || tricke, and trimme both for pleasure and profite: the other is a
 lugge slowe of caste, followinge the stringe, more sure for to last, then
 pleasant for to use. Now, Sir, it chaunced this other night, one in my
 chamber would needes bende them to prove their strengthe, but (I can-

* In order to it.

† Faule or Fall, is Produce.

‡ Probably is, speciously.

|| Tricke or Trickie, is neat, nice, elegant.

not tell howe) they were both lefte bente till the next day after dinner : and when I came to them, purposinge to have gone on shootinge, I founde my good bowe clene * cast on the one syde, and as weake as water, that surelye, if I were a riche man, I had rather have spent a crowne: and as for my lugge, it was not one whit the worse, but shotte by and by as well and as farre as ever it did. And even so, I am sure that good wittes, excepte they be let downe lyke a treble stringe, and unbente lyke a good casting bowe, they will never last and be able to continue in studye. And I know where I spake this, *Philologe*, for I would not say thus much afore younge men, for they will take soone occasion to studye litle ynoughe. But I saye it therefore, because I knowe, as litle studye getteth litle learninge, or none at all, so the most studye getteth not the most learninge of all. For a mans witte fore occupied in earnest studye must be as well recreated with some honest pastime, as the bodye fore laboured muste be refreshed with sleape and quietnesse, or else it cannot endure verye longe, as the noble poete sayth :

Ovid.

† *What thinge wants quiet and mery rest, endures but a small while.*

And I promise you shootinge, by my iudgement, is the most honeste pastime of all, and suche one, I am sure, of all other, that hindereth learninge litle or nothings at all, whatsoever you and some other saye, which are a great deale forer against it alwayes than you neede to be.

PHI. Hindereth learninge litle or nothings at all! that were a marveile to me trulye, and I am sure, feinge you say so, you have some reason wherwith you can defende shootinge with all, and as for will, (for the love that you beare towarde shootinge) I thincke there shall lacke none in you. Therefore, feinge we have so good leysure both, and no bodye by to trouble us: and you so willinge and able to defende it, and I so readye and glade to heare what may be said of it, I suppose we cannot passe the time better over, neyther you for the ‡ honestye of your shootinge, nor I for mine own minde sake, than to see what can be sayed with it, or against it, and specialye in these days, when so many doth use it, and every man, in a maner, doth commune of it.

Tox. To speake of shootinge, *Philologe*, trulye I would I were so able, eyther as I myselfe am willinge, or yet as the matter deserveth; but feinge with wishinge we cannot have one nowe worthy, which so worthye a thinge can worthelye prayse, and although I had rather have any

* *Cast* is *warped*. The word is still used by artificers.

† If this line was so translated when this treatise was first written in 1544, it is the oldest English hexameter that I remember.

‡ *Honesty* is *Honour*.

other to do it than myselfe, yet myselfe rather then no other, I will not fayle to say in it what I can. Wherein if I say litle, laye that of my litle habilitie, not of the matter itselfe, which deserveth no litle thinge to be sayde of it. PHI. If it deserve no litle thinge to be sayde of it, *Toxophile*, I marveile how it chaunceth than, that no man hitherto hath written anye thinge of it: wherein you muste graunt me, that eyther the matter is nought, unworthye, and barren to be written upon, or els some men are to blame, which both love it and use it, and yet coulde never finde in theyr harte, to saye one good woorde of it, feinge that verie triflinge matters hath not lacked great learned men to set them oute, as * gnattes and nuttes, and many other more like thinges, wherefore eyther you may honestlye laye very great faulte upon men, because they never yet praysed it, or els I may iustlye take away no litle thinge from shootinge, because it never yet deserved it. Tox. Trulye, herein, *Philologe*, you take not so much from it, as you geve to it. For great and commodious thynges are never greatlye praysed, not because they be not worthye, but because theyr excellencye needeth no man his prayse, havinge all theyr commendation of themselfe, not borrowed of other men his lippes, which rather prayse themselfe, in speakeinge muche of a litle thinge, then that matter which they entreat upon. Great and good thinges be not praysed: "For who ever praysed "*Hercules?*" (sayth the *Greeke* proverbe.) And that no man hitherto hath written anye booke of shootinge, the faulte is not to be layed in the thinge which was worthye to be written upon, but of men which were negligente in doinge it, and this was the cause thereof as I suppose. Menne that used shootinge most and knewe it best, were not learned: men that were learned, used litle shootinge, and were ignoraunt in the nature of the thinge, and so fewe men have bene that hitherto were able to write upon it. Yet how long shootinge hath continued, what common wealthes hath most used it, how honest a thinge it is for all men, what kinde of lyvinge soever they folowe, what pleasure and profite commeth of it, both in peace and warre, all maner of tongues and writers, *Hebrew*, *Greeke*, and *Latine*, hath so plentifullye spoken of it, as of few other thinges like. So what shootinge is, howe many kindes there is of it, what goodnesse is ioyned with it, is tolde: onely how it is to be learned and broughte to a perfectnesse amonges men, is not tolde. PHI. Then, *Toxophile*, if it be so as you do saye, let us go forward, and examine howe plentifullye this is done that you

* The Gnat of *Virgil*, and the Nut of *Ovid*.

speake; and, first, of the invention of it, then what honestye and profite is in the use of it, both for warre and peace, more than in other pastimes; last of all howe it oughte to be learned amonges men, for the encrease of it. Which thinge if you do, not onely I now, for your communication, but many other mo, when they shall knowe of it, for your labour, and shootinge it selfe also (if it could speake) for your kindnesse, will con you very muche thancke.

Tox. What goode thinges men speake of shootinge, and what good thinges shootinge bringes to men, as my witte and knowledge will serve me, gladly shall I saye my minde. But howe the thinge is to be learned, I will surelye leave to some other, which, both for greater experience in it, and also for their learnynge, can set it out better than I.

PHI. Well, as for that, I knowe both what you can do in shootinge, by experience, and that you can also speake well ynough of shootinge, for your learnynge: but go on with the first part. And I do not doubt, but what my desire, what your love towardes it, the honestye of shootinge, the profit that may come thereby to many others, shall get the second part out of you at the last.

C. Claudianus in Histri.

Tox. Of the first finders out of shootinge, divers men diverslye do wryte. *Claudiane* the poete sayth, that nature geve example of shootinge first, by the **Porpentine*, which shoote his prickes, and will hitte anye thinge that fightes with it: wherebye men learned afterwarde did imitate the same, in findinge out both bowe and shaftes.

Plin. 7. 56. in Sympo. in hymn. ad Apoll. Genesis. 21. Ni. de Lyra:

Plinie referreth it to *Schythes* the sonne of *Jupiter*. Better, and more noble wryters, brynge shooting from a more noble inventour: as *Plato*, *Calimachus*, and *Galen*, from *Apollo*. Yet longe afore those days we do read in the Bible of shootinge expresselye; and also, if we shall believe *Nicholas de Lyra*, *Lamech* killed *Cain* with a shafte. So this

Galenus in exhor. ad bonas artes.

great continuance of shootinge dothe not a litle prayse shootynge: nor that neyther dothe not a litle set it out, that it is referred to the invention of *Apollo*, for the which pointe shootinge is highlye praysed of *Galen*: where he sayth, that meane craftes be first founde out by men or beastes, as weavinge by a spider, and such other: but high and commendable sciences by Goddes, as shootinge and musicke by *Apollo*. And thus shootinge, for the necessitie of it, used in *Adams* days, for the noblenesse of it referred to *Apollo*, hath not bene onely commended in all tongues and wryters, but also had in great price, both in the best common wealthes, in warre time, for the defence of their countrie, and of all degrees of men in peace time, both for the honestye that is ioyned

* Porcupine.

with it, and the profite that followeth of it. PHI. Well, as concerninge the findinge out of it, litle prayse is gotten to shootinge there-
bye, seynge good wittes maye most easielye of all finde out a triflinge
matter. But whereas you saye, that most common wealthes have
used it in warre tyme, and all degrees of men may verye honestlye use
it in peace tyme: I thincke you can neyther shew by authoritye, nor
yet prove by reason. TOX. The use of it in warre tyme, I will de-
clare hereafter. And first, howe all kindes and sortes of men (what
degree soever they be) hath at all tymes afore, and nowe may honestlye
use it, the example of most noble men very well doth prove.

Cyaxares, the Kinge of the *Medees*, and great grand father to *Cyrus*, Herod. in
kept a sort of *Sythians* with him onelye for this purpose, to teache his ^{Clio.}
sonne *Astyages* to shoote. *Cyrus*, beinge a childe, was broughte uppe in ^{Xen. in Insti.}
shootinge; which thinge *Zenophon* would never have made mention on, ^{Cyri. 1.}
excepte it had bene fitte for all Princes to have used: seinge that *Zeno-*
phon wrote *Cyrus* lyfe, (as *Tullye* sayth) not to shew what *Cyrus* did, ^{Ad Quint.}
but what all maner of Princes, both in pastymes and earnest matters, ^{Fra. 1. 1.}
ought to do.

Darius, the first of that name, and kinge of *Persia*, shewed plain-
lye howe fitte it is for a Kinge to love and use shootinge, which com-
maunded this sentence to be graven in his tombe, for a princelye me-
morye and prayse.

*Darius the Kinge lyeth buried here,
That in shootinge and rydinge had never pere.*

Strabo. 15.

Agayne, *Domitian* the Emperour was so cunninge in shootinge, that ^{Suet.}
he coule shote betwixt a mans fingers standinge afaire off, and never
hurte him. *Commodus* also was so excellent, and had so sure a hand
in it, that there was nothinge within his reach and shote, but he would ^{Herodia. 1.}
hit in what place he would; as beasts runninge, eyther in the head, or
in the harte, and never misse; as *Herodiane* sayeth he sawe himsele,
or els he could never have believed it. PHI. Indeede you prayse
shootinge very well, in that you shew that *Domitian* and *Commodus* love
shootinge, such an ungratious couple, I am sure, as a man shall not
finde agayne, if he raked all hell for them. TOX. Well, even as I

will not commend theyr ilnesse, so oughte not you to dispraise theyr goodnesse; and indeede, the iudgmente of *Herodian* uppon *Commodus* is true of them bothe, and that was this: that besyde strengthe of bodye and good shootinge, they had no princelye thinge in them; whiche sayinge, methinke, commendes shootinge wonderfullye, calling it a princelye thinge. Forthermore, howe commendable shootinge is for Princes: Themist. in Orat. 6. *Themistius*, the noble philosopher, shewethe in a certaine oration made to *Theodosius* the Emperour, wherein he dothe commende him for three thinges, that he used of a childe: For shootinge, for ryding of an horse well, and for feates of armes.

Moreover, not onely Kinges and Emperours have been broughte up in shootinge, but also the best common wealthes that ever were, have made goodlye acts and lawes for it, as the *Persians*, whiche under *Cyrus* conquered, in a maner, all the world, had a lawe that their children shoulde learne three thinges onely from five yeares oulde unto twenty, to ryde an horse well, to shoote well, to speake truthe alwayes and never lye. The *Romaynes* (as *Leo* the Emperour in his book of sleighes of warre telleth) had a lawe that everye man shoulde use shootinge in peace tyme, while he was forty yeare oulde, and that everye house shoulde have a bowe, and forty shaftes, ready for all needes; the omittinge of which lawe (sayth *Leo*) amonge the youthe, hath bene the onely occasion why the *Romaynes* lost a great deale of theyr empyre. But more of this I will speake when I come to the profite of shootinge in warre. If I shoulde rehearse the statutes made of noble Princes of *Englande* in parliamentes, for the settinge forward of shootinge, throughe this realme, and specially that acte made for shootinge the thirde yeare of the raigne of our most dreade Soveraigne Lord Kinge *Henrye* the VIII. I coulde be verye longe. But these fewe examples, speciallye of so greate men and noble common wealthes, shall stande in steede of manye. PHI. That suche Princes, and suche common wealthes have muche regarded shootinge, you have well declared. But whye shootinge oughte so of itselfe to be regarded, you have scarcelye yet proved.

Tox. Examples, I graunt, out of historyes do shewe a thinge to be so, not prove a thinge why it should be so. Yet this I suppose, that neyther great mens qualities, beinge commendable, be withoute great auctoritye, for other men honestlye to followe them; nor yet those
great

great learned men that wrote such thinges, lacke good reason iustlye
 at all tymes for anye other to approve them. Princes, beinge children,
 oughte to be brought uppe in shootinge, bothe because it is an exercise
 most hollesome, and also a pastime moste honest: wherein laboure pre-
 pareth the bodye to hardnesse, the minde to couragiousnesse, sufferinge
 neyther the one to be marde with tenderesse, nor yet the other to be
 hurte with ydlenesse, as we reade howe *Sardanapalus* and such other
 were, because they were not brought up with outwarde honest painfull
 pastimes to be men, but cockerde up with inwarde noughtye ydle wan-
 tonnesse to be women. For howe fitte laboure is for all youthe, *Jupi-*
ter or els *Minos* amonges them of *Greece*, and *Lycurgus* amonge the
Lacedemonians, do shewe by theyr lawes, whiche never ordeyned anye
 thinge for the bringinge up of youth, that was not ioyned with labour;
 and that labour whiche is in shootinge of all other is best, both because
 it encreaseth strengthe, and preserveth healthe most, beinge not vehe-
 ment, but moderate, not overlayinge anye one parte with wearinesse,
 but softlye exercisinge everye parte with equalnesse, as the arms and
 breastes with drawinge, the other parts with goinge, beinge not so pain-
 full for the labour, as pleasaunt for the pastime, which exercise, by the
 iudgment of the beste physitions, is most allowable. By shootinge also
 is the minde honestlye exercised, where a man alwayes desireth to be
 best, (which is a word of honestye) and that by the same way, that
 vertue itselfe dothe, coveting to come nighest a most perfitte ende, or
 mean standinge betwixte two extremes, eschewinge shorte, or gone, or
 eyther syde wyde, for the which causes *Aristotle* himselfe sayth, that
 shootinge and vertue be very lyke. Moreover, that shootinge of all
 other is the most honest pastyme, and that leaste occasion to naught-
 nesse is ioyned with it, two thinges verye plainly do prove, whiche be, as
 a man would saye, the tutors and overseers to shootinge: daye light, and
 open place where everye man dothe come, the maintainers and keepers
 of shootinge, from all unhoneste doinge. If shootinge fault at anye
 time, it hydes it not, it lurkes not in corners and huddermother: but
 openlye accuseth and bewrayeth itselfe, which is the next way to amend-
 ment, as wyse men do saye. And these thinges, I suppose, be signes,
 not of naughtinesse, for anye man to disallowe it, but rather verye
 plaine tokens of honestye, for every man to prayse it. The use of
 shootinge also in great mennes children shall greatly encrease the love
 and use of shootinge in all the residue of youth. For meane mennes
 mindes

Cic. 2. Tuf.
 Qu.

Galen. 2.
 de Santuend.

Aristot. de
 morib.

In Nic.

minde love to be like great men, as *Plato* and *Isocrates* do saye. And that everye bodye shoulde learne to shoote, when they be younge, defence of the common wealthe doth require when they be olde, whiche thinge cannot be done mightelye when they be men, excepte they learne it perfectlye when they be boyes. And therefore shootinge of all pastymes is most fitte to be used in childhoode: because it is an imitation of most earnest things to be done in manhode. Wherefore, shootinge is fitte for great mennes children, both because it strengtheneth the bodye with holsome laboure, and pleaseth the minde with honest pastyme, and also encourageth all other youthe earnestlye to followe the same. And these reasons (as I suppose) stirred uppe both great men to bringe uppe their children in shootinge, and also noble common wealthes so straitly to commaunde shootinge. Therefore feinge Princes, moved by honest occasions, have in all common wealthes used shootinge, I suppose there is no other degree of men, neyther lowe nor hye, learned nor leude, younge nor olde. *

PHI. You shall neede wade no further in this matter, *Toxophile*, but if you can prove me that scholers and men geven to learnynge maye honestlye use shootinge, I will soon graunt you that all other sortes of men may not onely lawfullye, but oughte of dutye to use it. But I thincke you cannot prove but that all these examples of shootinge broughte from so long a tyme, used of so noble Princes, confirmed by so wyse mennes lawes and iudgements, are set afore temporal men, onely to followe them; whereby they maye the better and stronglyer defende the common wealth withall; and nothinge belongeth to scholers and learned men, which have another part of the common wealthe, quiete and peaceable put to theyr cure and charge, whose ende, as it is diverse from the other, so there is no one way that leadeth to them bothe.

Tox. I graunt, *Philologe*, that scholers and layemen have divers offices and charges in the common wealthe, which requires divers bringyng uppe in theyr youthe, if they shall do them as they oughte to do in theyr age. Yet as temporal men of necessitye are compelled to take somewhat of learnynge to do theyr office the better withall, so scholers may the boldlyer borrowe somewhat of layemennes pastymes to mainteine theyr healthe in studye withal. And surelye, of all other thynges, shootinge is necessarye for bothe sortes to learne. Which thinge, when it has bene evermore used in *Englande*, howe much good it hath done, both old men and chronicles do tell: and

* Here seems to be some deficiency in the copy.

also our enemies can bear us recorde. For if it be true as I have heard saye, when the Kinge of *Englande* hath bene in *Fraunce*, the Priestes at home, because they were archers, have bene able to overthrow all *Scotlande*. Againe, there is another thyng, which above all other dothe move me, not onely to love shootinge, to prayse shootinge, to exhorte all other to shootinge, but also to use shootinge myselfe: and that is our late Kinge *Henrye* the eyghte his most royal purpose and will, whiche in all his statutes generallye dothe commaund men, and with his owne mouth most gently did exhorte men, and by his great giftes and rewardes greatlye did encourage men, and with his most princelye example verye often did provoke all other men to the same. But here you will come with temporall man and scholer. I tell you plainly, scholer or unscholer, yea if I were twenty scholers, I woulde thincke it were mye dutye, bothe with exhortinge men to shoote, and also with shootinge myselfe, to helpe to set forward that thinge which the Kinge his wysedome, and his counsaile, so greatlye laboure to have go forward: which thinge surelye they did, because they knew it to be, in warre, the defence and wall of our countreye; in peace, an exercise most holosome for the bodye, a pastyme most honeste for the minde, and, as I am able to prove myselfe, of all other moste fitte and agreeable with learnynge and learned men.

PHI. If you can prove this thyng so plainlye, as you speak it earnestlye, then will I not onelye thincke as you do, but become a shooter, and do as you do. But yet beware, I say, lest you, for the great love you beare toward shootinge, blindly iudge of shootinge. For love, and all other too earnest affections, be not for noughte painted blinde. Take heede (I say) lest you prefer shooting afore other pastymes, as one *Balbinus*, through blinde affection, preferred his lover before all other women, although she was deformed with a *Polypus* in her nose. And although shootinge may be meete some tyme for some scholers, and so forth; yet the fittest alwayes is to be preferred. Therefore, if you will needes graunt scholers pastyme and recreation of theyr mindes, let them use (as manye of them do) *Musicke* and playinge on instruments, thinckinge most seemlye for all scholers, and most regarded alwayes of *Apollo* and the *Muses*. TOX. Even as I cannot denye but some *Musicke* is fit for learninge, so I trust you cannot choose but graunt, that shootinge is fit also, as *Callimachus* doth signifye in this Cal. hym. verse:

Both

—Both merie songes and good shootinge delighteth Apollo.—

But as concerninge whether of them is most fitte for learninge, and scholers to use, you may saye what you will for your pleasure, this I am sure that *Plato* and *Aristotle* bothe, in theyr bookes entreatinge of the common wealthe, where they shewe howe youthe should be brought uppe in four thinges, in readinge, in writinge, in exercise of bodye, and finginge, do make mention of *Musicke* and all kyndes of it, wherein they bothe agree, that *Musicke* used amonges the *Lydians* is very ill for young men, which be studentes for vertue and learnynge, for a certaine nyce, softe, and smoothe swetenesse of it, whiche would rather entice them to noughtines, then stirre them to honestye.

An other kinde of *Musicke*, invented by the *Dorians*, they bothe wonderfully prayse, alowinge it to be very fitte for the studye of vertue and learninge, because of a manlye, roughe and stoute sounde in it, whiche should encourage younge stomakes to attempte manlye matters. Nowe whether these balades and roundes, these galiardes, pavaues and daunces, so nycelye fingered, so sweetlye tuned, be lyker the *Musicke* of the *Lydians*, or the *Dorians*, you that be learned iudge. And whatsoever ye iudge, this I am sure, that lutes, harpes, all maner of pypes, barbitons, sambukes, with other instrumentes every one, whiche standeth by fine and quicke fingeringe, be condemned of *Aristotle*, as not to be broughte in and used among them, which studye for learnynge and vertue.

Arist. Pol.

Pallas, when she had invented a pipe, caste it awaye, not so muche, sayth *Aristotle*, because it deformed her face, but muche rather because such an instrument belonged nothinge to learninge. Howe suche instrumentes agree with learninge, the goodlye agreement betwixt *Apollo* God of learninge, and *Marsias* the *Satyr*, defender of pypinge, dothe well declare, where *Marsias* had his skinne quite pulled over his heade for his laboure.

Muche *Musicke* marreth mennes maners, sayth *Galen*, althoughe some men will saye that it dothe not so, but rather recreateth and maketh quicke a mannes minde, yet, methinke, by reason it doth as honye dothe to mannes stomacke, whiche at first receiveth it well, but
afterward

afterward it maketh it unfit to abyde any good stronge nourishinge meate, or els any holosome sharpe and quicke drinke. And even so in a maner these instrumentes make a mans wittes so softe and smothe, so tender and quaisye, that they be lesse able to broke stronge and toughe studye. Wittes be not sharpened, but rather dulled and made blunt, with suche sweete softnesse, even as good edges be blonter, whiche men whette upon soft chalke stones.

And these things to be true, not onely *Plato*, *Aristotle*, and *Galen*, Herod. in Clio. prove by authoritye of reason, but also *Herodotus* and other writers, shewe by plaine and evident example; as that of *Cyrus*, which, after he had overcome the *Lydians*, and taken their king *Cresus* prisoner, yet after, by the meanes of one *Pactyas*, a very heady man amonges the *Lydians*, they rebelled against *Cyrus* againe; then *Cyrus* had by and by brought them to utter destruction, if *Cresus*, beinge in good favour with *Cyrus*, had not heartelye desyred him not to revenge *Pactyas* faulte, in sheddingge their bloode. But if he would folowe his counsaile, he might bringe to passe, that theye shoulde never more rebel against him. And that was this, to make them weare long kyrtils to the foote, like women, and that everye one of them shoulde have a harpe or a lute, and learne to playe and singe. Which thinge if you do, sayth *Cresus*, (as he did indeed) you shall see them quickly of men made women. And thus lutinge and finginge take awaye a manlyestomacke, whiche shoulde enter and pearce deepe and harde studye.

Even such another storye dothe *Nymphodorus*, an olde Greeke histo- Nymphod. riographer, write of one *Sesostris* King of *Egypt*, which storye, because it is somewhat longe, and very like in all pointes to the other, and also you do well enoughe to remember it, feinge you redde it so late in *Sophocles Commentaries*, I will now passe over. Therefore eyther *Aristotle* Comment. in Antig. and *Plato* knowe not what was good and evill for learninge and vertue, and the example of wyfe historyes be vainly set afore us, or els the minstrelsy of lutes, pypes, harpes, and all other that standeth by such nyce, fine minikin fingeringe, (suche as the mooste parte of scholers whom I knowe use, if they use anye) is farre more fitte for the womannishnes of it to dwel in the Courte among ladyes, than for any great thinge in it, which shoulde helpe good and sadde studye, to abide in the *University* amonge scholers. But perhaps you know some great goodnesse of

L

suche

suche *Musicke* and suche instrumentes, whereunto *Plato* and *Aristotle* his brayne coulde never attayne, and therefore I will saye no more against it.

PHI. Well, *Toxophile*, is it not enough for you to rayle uppon *Musicke*, excepte you mocke me to? but to say the truthe, I never thoughte myfelfe these kyndes of *Musicke* fitte for learninge, but that whiche I sayde was rather to prove you, than to defend the matter. But yet as I woulde have this sorte of *Musicke* decaye among scholers, even so do I wishe from the bottom of my hart, that the laudable custome of *Englande* to teache children their plaine songe and pricke songe, were not so decayed throughoute all the realme as it is. Whiche thinge how profitable it was for all sortes of men, those knewe not so well than which had it moſte, as they do nowe which lacke it moſt. And therefore it is true that *Teucer* sayth in *Sophocles*:

Sophocles
in *Aicc.*

* *Seldome at all good thinges be knownen how good to be
Before a man such thinges do misse out of his bandes.*

That milke is no fitter nor more naturall for the bringinge up of children than *Musicke* is, both *Galen* proveth by auctoritye, and daily use teacheth by experience. For even the little babes lackinge the use of reason, are scarce so well stilled in sucking their mothers pappe, as in hearinge their mother singe: Again, how fit youth is made, by learninge to singe, for *Grammar* and other sciences, both we daile do see, and *Plutarch* learnedly doth prove, and *Plato* wyfelye did allow, which received no scholer into his schole, that had not learned his song before. The godlye use of prayſinge God, by singinge in the churche, needeth not my prayſe, ſeing it is ſo prayſed throughe all the Scripture, therefore now I will ſpeak nothing of it, rather than I ſhoulde ſpeake to little of it.

Befyde all theſe commodities, truelye two degrees of men, which have the higheſt offices under the Kinge in all this realme, ſhall greatly lacke the uſe of ſinginge, *Preachers* and *Lawyers*, becauſe they ſhall not, without this, be able to rule their breastes for everye purpoſe. For where is no diſtinction in tellinge glade thinges and fearful thinges, gentlenes and cruelnes, ſoftnes and

* Theſe lines are written in imitation of the *Senarius*.

vehe-

vehementnes, and such like matters, there can be no great perswasion. For the hearers, as *Tullie* sayth, be much affectioned, as he is that speaketh. At his words be they drawen; if he stand still in one fashion, their mindes stande still with him: if he thunder, they quake: if he chide, they fere: if he complaine, they sorye with him: and finallye, where a matter is spoken with an apte voice for everye affection, the hearers, for the most part, are moved as the speaker woulde. But when a man is alwaye in one tune, like an humble bee, or els now in the top of the churche, now downe that no man knoweth where to have him: or piping like a reede, or roringe like a bull, as some lawyers do, which thincke they do best, when they crye lowdest, these shall never greatly move, as I have knowen manye well learned have done, because theyr voyce was not stayed afore, with learninge to singe. For all voyces, great and small, base and shrill, weake or soft, may be holpen and brought to a good point by learning to singe.

Whether this be true or not, they that stand most in nede can tell beste, whereof some I have knowen, which, because they learned not to singe, when they were boyes, were fayne to take paine in it, when they were men. If anye man shoulde heare me, *Toxophile*, that woulde thincke I did but fondlye to suppose that a voyce were so necessarye to be looked upon, I would aske him if he thoughte nature a foole, for makinge such goodlye instrumentes in a man, for well uttering his wordes, or els if the two noble orators *Demosthenes* and *Cicero*, were not fooles, whereof the one did not onelye learne to singe of a man, but also was not ashamed to learne how he shoulde utter his foundes aptlye of a dogge; the other setteth oute no point of *Rhetoricke* so fullye in all his bookes, as howe a man should order his voyce for all kinde of matters.

Therefore seinge men, by speakinge, differ and be better than beastes, by speakinge well better than other men, and that singinge is an helpe towarde the same, as daylye experience doth teache, example of wyse men doth alowe, authority of learned men doth approve, wherewith the foundation of youth in all good common wealthes alwayes hath bene tempered: surely if I were one of the parliament-house, I woulde not fayle to put up a bill for the amendmente of this thinge; but because I am like to be none this yeare, I will speake no more of it at this time. *Tox.* It were pitye truly, *Philologe*, that the thinge shoulde be neglected, but I trust it is not as you say. *PHI.* The thinge

is to true, for of them that come daile to the *Univerſitie*, where one hath learned to ſinge, ſix hath not.

But now to our ſhootinge, *Toxophile*, againe, wherein I ſuppoſe you cannot ſay ſo much for ſhootinge to be fitte for learninge, as you have ſpoken againſt *Muficke* for the ſame. Therefore as concerning *Muficke*, I can be contente to graunt you your minde: but as for ſhootinge, ſurelye I ſuppoſe that you cannot perſwade me, by no meanes, that a man can be earneſt in it, and earneſt at his booke to: but rather I thincke that a man with a bowe on his backe, and ſhaftes under his girdle, is more fitte to wayte upon *Robin Hood*e, than upon *Apollo* or the *Muſes*.

Tox. Over earneſt ſhootinge ſurelye I will not over earneſtlye defende, for I ever thought ſhootinge ſhoulde be a wayter upon learnynge, not a miſtreſs over learninge. Yet this I marveile not a little at, that ye thincke a man with a bowe on his backe is more like *Robin Hood*eſ ſervaunte, than *Apollo*ſ, ſeing that *Apollo* himſelfe, in *Alceſtis* of *Euripides*, which tragedye you redde openlye not longe ago, in a manner glorifyeth, ſayinge this verſe.

Eurip. in
Alceſt.

It is my wont alwayes my bowe with me to beare.

Therefore a learned man ought not to much to be aſhamed to beare that ſometime which *Apollo* God of learninge himſelfe was not aſhamed alwayes to bear. And becauſe ye woulde have a man wayte upon the *Muſes*, and not at all meddle with ſhootinge; I marveile that you do not remember how that the nine *Muſes* their ſelfe as ſoone as they were borne, were put to norſe to a lady called *Euphemis*, which had a ſonne named *Erotus*, with whom the nine *Muſes*, for his excellent ſhootinge, kepte evermore companie withall, and uſed daile to ſhoote together in the mounte *Parnaffus*: and at laſt it chaunced this *Erotus* to dye, whoſe death the *Muſes* lamented greatlye, and fell all upon theyr knees fore *Jupiter* theyr father, and, at theyr requeſt, *Erotus*, for ſhootinge with the *Muſes* on earth, was made a ſigne, and called *Sagittarius* in heaven. Therefore you ſee that if *Apollo* and the *Muſes* eyther were examples indeede, or onelye fayned of wyſe men to be examples of learninge, honeſt ſhootinge may well enoughe be companion with honeſt ſtudy.

PHI. Well, *Toxophile*, if you have no ſtronger defence of ſhootinge than poetes, I feare if your companions which love ſhootinge

shootinge heard you, they would thincke you made it but a triflinge
 and fablinge matter, rather than any other man that loveth not shoot-
 inge coulde be perswaded by this reason to love it. Tox. Even as
 I am not so fonde but I knowe that these be fables, so I am sure you be
 not so ignorante, but you know what such noble wittes as the poetes
 had ment by such matters, which oftentimes, under the covering of
 a fable, do hyde and wrappe in goodlye preceptes of philosophie, with
 the true judgement of thinges. Whiche to be true specially in *Homer*
 and *Euripides*, *Plato*, *Aristotle*, and *Galene*, plainlye do shewe: when
 throughe all theyr workes (in a manner) they determine all controver-
 sies by these two poetes, and such like authorities. Therefore if in this
 matter I seeme to fable, and nothing prove, I am content you judge so
 on me, feinge the same judgement shall condemne with me *Plato*,
Aristotle, and *Galene*, whom in that errour I am well content to followe.
 If these old examples prove nothinge for shootinge, what saye you
 to these? that the best learned and sagest men in this realme which be
 now alive, both love shootinge and use shootinge, as the best learned
 bishops that be: amonges whom, *Philologe*, yourselfe knowe four or
 five, which as in all good learninge, vertue and sagenesse, they geve
 other men example what thinge they should do, even so by their shoot-
 inge they plainlye shewe what honest pastime other men geven to
 learninge may honestlye use. That earnest studye must be recreated
 with some pastime, sufficientlye I have proved afore, both by reason
 and authoritye of the best learned men that ever wrote. Then feinge
 pastimes be lawfull, the most fittest for learninge is to be sought for.
 A pastime, sayth *Aristotle*, must be like a medicine. Medicines stande
 by contraries; therefore, the nature of studyinge considered, the fittest
 pastime shall soon appeare. In studye every part of the bodye is idle,
 which thinge causeth grosse and cold humours to gather together and
 vexe scholers very much, the minde is altogether bent and sette on work;
 a pastime then must be had where everye part of the bodye must be
 laboured to separate and lessen such humours withall, the minde must
 be unbent, to gather and fetch againe his quickness withall. Thus pas-
 times for the minde onlye, be nothinge fitte for studentes, because the
 bodye, which is most hurt by studye, shoulde take no profite at all there-
 at. This knewe *Erasmus* very well, when he was here in *Cambrige*:
 which when he had been fore at his booke (as *Garret* our booke-byn-
 der has verye oft told me) for lacke of better exercise, would take his
 horse,

horse, and ryde about the market hill, and come againe. If a scholer should use bowles or tennyes, the labour is so vehement and unequal, which is condemned of *Galene*; the example very ill for other men, when by so manye actes they be made unlawfull. Runninge, leapinge, and coytinge be to vile for scholers, and not fitte by *Aristotles* judgement: walkinge alone in the field hath no token of courage in it, a pastime like a fingle man that is neither fleshe nor fishe. Therefore if a man would have a pastime holosome and equall for every part of his bodye, pleasant and full of courage for the minde, not vile and dishonest to geve ill example to laye men, not kept in gardines and corners, not lurkinge on the night and in holes, but evermore in the face of men, eyther to rebuke it when it doth ill, or els to testifie on it when it doth well; let him seeke chieflye of all other for shootinge.

Gal. de San-
tuend. 2.

PHI. Such common pastimes as men commonly do use, I will not greatlye allowe to be fitte for scholers, feinge they may use such exercises very well (I suppose) as *Galen* himselfe doth allow. Tox. These exercises, I remember very well, for I redde them within these two dayes, of the which some be these: to runne up and downe an hill, to clyme up a longe powle, or a rope, and there hange a while, to holde a man by his armes and wave with his heeles, muche like the pastime that boyes use in the churche, when theyr master is awaye, to swinge and totter in a belrope: to make a fiste, and stretche out both his armes, and so stand like a roode. To go on a mans tiptoes, stretchinge out the one of his armes forward, the other backward, whiche, if he blered out his tongue also, might be thoughte to dance anticke verie properlye. To tumble over and over, to toppe over taylor: to set backe to backe, and see who can heave an others heeles highest, wyth other much like: which exercises surely muste needes be naturall, because they be so childishe, and they maye be also holosome for the bodye, but surelye as for pleasure to the minde, or honestye in the doinge of them, they be as like shootinge as *Yorke* is foule *Sutton*. Therefore to loke on all pastimes and exercises holosome for the bodye, pleasaunt for the minde, comlye for every man to do, honest for all other to loke on, profitable to be set by of every man, worthy to be rebuked of no man, fitte for all ages, persons and places, onely shootinge shall appeare, wherein all these commodities may be founde. PHI. To graunt, *Toxophile*, that studentes may at times convenient use shootinge as most holosome and honest pastime: yet to do as some do, to shoote hourellye, daillye, weeklye,

weekly, and in a manner the whole yeare, neyther I can prayse, nor any wyse man will allowe, nor you yourselfe can honestly defend.

Tox. Surelye, *Philologe*, I am very glad to see you come to that point that most lyeth in your stomache, and greveth you and others so much. But I trust, after I have sayde my minde in this matter, you shall confesse your selfe, that you do rebuke this thinge more than ye neede, rather than you shall finde that any man maye spende by anye possibilitye, more time in shootinge then he oughte. For first and formost, the hole time is divided into two partes, the daye and the nighte: whereof the nighte maye be bothe occupied in manye honest busineses, and also spent in much unthriftnesse, but in no wyse it can be applied to shootinge. And here you see that halfe our time, graunted to all other thinges in a manner both good and ill, is at one swappe quite taken awaye from shootinge. Now let us go forward, and see howe much of halfe this time of ours is spent in shootinge. The whole yeare is divided into four partes, springe-time, sommer, faule of the leafe, and winter. Whereof the winter, for the roughnesse of it, is cleane taken awaye from shootinge: except it be one daye amonges twenty, or one yeare amonges forty. In sommer, for the fervent heate, a man maye saye likewise; excepte it be some time against night. Nowe then springe time and faule of the leafe, be those which we abuse in shootinge.

But if we consider howe mutable and changeable the weather is in those seasons, and howe that *Aristotle* himselfe sayth, that most part of rayne fauleth in these two times; we shall well perceive, that where a man would shoote one daye, he shall be fayne to leave of four. Nowe when time itselfe graunteth us but a little space to shoote in, let us see if shootinge be not hindered amonges all kindes of men as much other wayes.

First, younge children use not; younge men, for fear of them whom they be under, too much dare not; sage men, for other greater busines, will not; aged men, for lacke of strengthe, cannot; riche men, for covetousnesse sake, care not; poore men, for cost and charge, may not; maisters, for their household kepinge, heede not; servauntes, kept in by their maisters, verie oft shall not; craftesmen, for gettinge of their lyvinge, very much leysure have not; and many there be that
oft

oft beginnes, but, for inaptnesse, proves not; and most of all, which when they be shooters geve it over and list not: So that generallye men everye where, for one or other consideration, much shootinge use not. Therefore these two thinges, straytnesse of time, and everye mans trade of lyvinge, are the causes that so fewe men shotes, as you may see in this greate towne, where as there be a thousand good mennes bodies, yet scarce ten that useth anye greate shootinge. And those whom you see shoote the most, with how manye thinges are they drawn, or rather driven, from shootinge. For first, as it is manye a yeare or they begin to be great shooters, even so the great heate of shootinge is gone within a yeare or two: as you knowe diverse, *Philologe*, yourselfe, which were some time the best shooters, and now they be the best students.

If a man faule ficke, farewell shootinge, maye fortune as longe as he lyveth. If he have a wrentche, or have taken colde in his arme, he maye hange uppe his bowe (I warrant you) for a season. A litle blayne, a small cutte, yea a filye poore worme in his finger, maye keepe him from shootinge well enoughe. Breakinge and ill lucke in bowes I will passe over, with an hundred mo fere thinges, which chaunceth every day to them that shoote most, whereof the least of them maye compell a man to leave shootinge. And these thinges be so true and evident, that it is impossible eyther for me craftilye to fayne them, or els for you justlye to denye them. Then seeinge how manye hundred thinges are required altogether to geve a man leave to shoote, and any one of them denyed, a man cannot shoote; and seeinge every one of them may chaunce, and doth chaunce every daye, I marveile any wyse man will thincke it possible, that any great time can be spent in shootinge at all.

Cardes and
Dyfe.

PHI. If this be true that you saye, *Toxophile*, and in very dede, I can denye nothinge of it, I merveile greatly how it chaunceth, that those which use shootinge be so much marked of men, and oft times blamed for it, and that in a manner as much as those which playe at cardes and dyfe. And I shall tell you what I hearde spoken of the same matter. A man, no shooter, (not longe ago) would defend playing at cardes and dyfe, if it were honestlye used, to be as honest pastime as your shootinge: for he layed for him, that a man might playe for a litle

litle at cardes and dyse, and also a man might shoote away all that ever he had. He sayde a payre of cardes cost not past two pence, and that they neded not so much reparation as bowe and shaftes, they would never hurte a mans hande, nor never weare his gere. A man should never flea a man with shooting wyde at the cardes. In wete and drye, hote and colde, they woulde never forsake a man, he shewed what great varietye there is in them for every mans capacity: if one game were hard, he might easly learne an other: if a man have a good game, there is great pleasure in it: if he have an ill game, the payne is short, for he may sone geve it over, and hope for a better: with many other mo reasons. But at the last he concluded, that betwixte playinge and shootinge, well used or ill used, there was no difference: but that there was lesse coste and trouble, and a great deale more pleasure in playinge, than in shootinge.

Tox. I cannot denye, but shootinge (as all other good thinges) may be abused. And good thinges ungodly used, are not good, sayth an honourable bishoppe in an earnest matter than this is: yet we must be ware that we laye not mennes faultes upon the thinge which is not worthy, for so nothings should be good. And as for shootinge, it is blamed and marked of men for that thing (as I have sayd before) which should be rather a token of honestye to prayse it, then anye signe of noughtinesse to disallowe it, and that is because it is in everye mans sight; it seeketh no corners, it hydeth it not: if there be never so litle faulte in it, every man seeth it, it accuseth itselfe. For one houre spent in shootinge is more seene, and further talked of, than twenty nights spent in dysinge, even as a little white stone is seene amonges three hundred blacke. Of these that blame shootinge and shooters, I will saye no more at this time but this, that beside that they stoppe and hinder shootinge, which the statutes would have forward, they be not much unlike in this pointe to *Wyll Sommer* the Kinges foole, which smiteth him that standeth alwayes before his face, be he never so worshipfull a man, and never greatlye lokes for him which lurkes behinde an other mans backe, that hurte him in deede.

But to him that compared gaminde with shootinge somewhat will I aunswere, and because he wente afore me in a comparison: and comparisons, sayth learned men, make plaine matters: I will surelye followe
 M him

In Phedro.

him in the same. Honest things (sayth *Plato*) be known from dishonest things by this difference, dishonest hath ever present pleasure in it, havinge neyther good pretence goinge before, nor yet anye profite followinge after: which sayinge descryeth generallye, both the nature of shootinge and gaminge, which is good, and which is evill, verye well.

Gaminge hath joined with it a vaine presente pleasure, but there followeth losse of name, losse of goods, and winninge of an hundred gowtye, dropsye, diseases, as everye man can tell. Shootinge is a paynfull pastime, whereof followeth health of bodye, quicknesse of witte, habilitie to defende our country, as our ennemyes can bear recorde.

Loth I am to compare these things together, and yet I do it not because there is anye comparison at all betwixte them, but thereby a man shall see how good the one is, how evill the other. For I thincke there is scarce so much contrarioufness betwixt hotte and cold, vertue and vice, as is betwixte these two things: For whatsoever is in the one, the cleane contrarye is in the other, as shall plainlye appere, if we consider both theyr beginninges, theyr encreasinges, theyr fruites, and theyr endes, which I will soone ridde over.

Pla. in Tim.

The first bringer into the worlde of shootinge, was *Apollo*, which for his wysdome, and greate commodities, broughte amonges men by him, was esteemed worthye to be counted as a God in heaven.

Plato in Phedro.

Herod. in Clio.

Dysinge surelye is a bastard borne, because it is sayde to have two fathers, and yet both nought: the one was an ungracious God, called *Theuth*, which, for his noughtinesse, came never in other Goddes companyes, and therefore *Homer* doth despise once to name him in all his works. The other was a *Lydian* borne, which people for such games, and other unthriftnesse, as bowlinge and hauntinge of tavernes, have bene ever had in most vile reputation in all storyes and writers.

The fosterer of shootinge is Labour, that companion of vertue, the mainteyner of honestye, the encrease of healthe and wealthinesse, which admitteth nothinge, in a manner, into his companye that standeth not with vertue and honestye; and therefore sayth the olde Poete *Epichermus* verye

verye pretelye in *Zenophon*, that God selleth vertue, and all other good thinges to men for labour. The nource of dyse and cardes, is verisome idlenesse, enemye of vertue; the drowner of youthe, that taryeth in it, and, as *Chaucer* doth say verye well in the Parsons Tale, the grene path waye to hell, havinge this thinge appropriate unto it, that whereas other vices have some cloke of honestye, onely idleness can neyther do well, nor yet thincke well. Againe; shootinge hath two tutours to loke upon it, out of whose companye shootinge never stirreth, the one called day-light, the other open place, which two kepe shootinge from evill companye, and suffer it not to have to much swinge, but ever more kepeth it under awe, that it dare do nothinge in the open face of the world, but that which is good and honest. Lykewise, dysinge and cardinge have two tutours, the one named Solitarioufnesse, which lurketh in holes and corners, the other called Night, an ungratious cover of noughtinesse, which two thinges be very inkeepers and receyvers of all noughtinesse and noughtye thinges, and thereto they be in a manner ordayned by nature. For, in the night time and in corners, spirites and theeves, rattes and mise, toodes and oules, night crowes and poulcattes, foxes and * foumardes, with all other vermine, and noysome beastes, use most styrringe; when in the day-light, and in open places, which be ordayned of God for honest thinges, they dare not ones come, which thinge *Euripides* noteth very well, sayinge,

Ill thinges the night, good thinges the daye doth haunt and use.

Companions of shootinge, be providentness, good heede geving, true meetinge, honest comparison, which thinges agree with vertue verye well. Cardinge and dysinge have a sort of good felowes also, goinge commonlye in theyr companye, as blinde fortune, stumblinge chaunce, spittle lucke, false dealinge, craftye conveyance, brainlesse brawlinge, false forswearinge, which good felowes will sone take a man by the sleve, and cause him take his inne, some with beggary, some with goute and dropsey, some with thefte and robbery, and feldome they will leave a man before he come eyther to hanginge, or els some other extreme myserye. To make an ende, how shootinge by all mennes lawes hath bene alowed, cardinge and dysinge by all mennes judgements condemned, I neede not shew, the matter is so plaine.

Iph. in Tau.

* *Foumards*, by others called *Fumarts*, are, I believe, what we now call more commonly Stoats.

Therefore, when the *Lydians* shall invente better thinges than *Apollo*, when flouthe and ydleness shall encrease vertue more than laboure, when the night and lurking corners geveth lesse occasion to unthriftinesse, than light day and opennesse, then shall shootinge, and such gaminge, be in some comparison like. Yet even, as I do not shewe all the goodnes which is in shootinge, when I prove it standeth by the same thinges that vertue itselfe standeth by, as brought in by gods, or god-like men, fostered by labour, committed to the savegarde of light and opennesse, accompanied with provision and diligence, loved and allowed by everye good mans sentence: even likewise do I not open halfe the naughtinesse which is in cardinge and dysinge, when I shewe how they are borne of a desperate mother, nourished in idlenesse, encreased by licence of nighte and corners, accompanied with fortune, chaunce, deceyte, and craftinesse: condemned and banished by all lawes and judgements.

Chaucer. For if I woulde enter to describe the monstuousnesse of it, I should rather wander in it, it is so brode, than have anye readye passage to the ende of the matter: whose horriblenesse is so large, that it passed the eloquence of our *Englishe Homer* to compasse it: yet because I ever thoughte his sayinges to have as much authoritye as eyther *Sophocles* or *Euripides* in *Greeke*, therefore gladlye do I remember these verses of his.

*Hazardry is verye mother of lesinges,
And of deceyte, and cursed sweringes.
Blasphemye of Christ, mans slaughter, and wasle also.
Of catel, of tyme, of other thinges mo.*

*Mother of * lesinges.*] True it maye be called so, if a man consider how many wayes and how many thinges he loseth thereby; for first, he loseth his goodes, he loseth his time, he loseth quicknesse of witte, and all good luste to other thinges; he loseth honest companye, he loseth his good name and estimation, and at last, if he leave it not, loseth God, and heaven and all: and, insteede of these thinges, winneth at length eyther hanginge or hell.

* I doubt whether our authour has not mistaken the sense of *Chaucer*, I rather take *lesinges* to be *lies* than *losses*.

And of deceyte.] I trowe, if I should not lye, there is not halfe so much crafte used in no one thinge in the world, as in this cursed thinge. What false dyse use they? As dyse stopped with quick silver and heares, dyse of vauntage, flattes, gourdes to chop and chaunge when they list, to let the true dyse fall under the table, and so take up the false, and if they be true dyse, what shift will they make to set the one of them with flydinge, with cogginge, with foystinge, with coytinge as they call it. How will they use these shiftes, when they get a plaine man that cannot skill of them? how will they go about, if they perceive an honest man have moneye, which list not playe, to provoke him to playe? They will seeke his companye, they will let him pay noughte, yea, and as I hearde a man ones saye that he did, they will sende for him to some house, and spende perchaunce a crowne on him, and, at last, will one begin to saye: What my masters, what shall we do? shall every man playe his twelve-pence whiles an apple roste in the fyre, and then we will drinke and departe: Naye, will an other saye, (as false as he) you cannot leave when you begin, and therefore I will not playe: but if you will gage, that every man, as he hath lost his twelve pence, shall sit downe, I am contente, for surelye I would winne no mannes moneye here, but even as much as would paye for my supper. Then speaketh the thirde, to the honeste man that thoughte not to playe, What? will you playe your twelve-pence? If he excuse him; Tush man, will the other saye, sticke not in honeste companye for twelve-pence; I will beare your halfe, and here is my moneye.

Nowe all this is to make him to beginne, for they knowe if he be ones in, and be a loser, that he will not stick at his twelve-pence, but hopeth ever to get it againe, while perhappes he lose all. Than everye one of them setteth his shiftes abroache, some with false dyse, some with settling of dyse, some with having outelandishe silver coynes guilded, to put awaye at a time for good golde. Than if there come a thinge in controversye, must you be judged by the table, and than farewell the honest mans parte, for he is borne downe on every fyde.

Nowe, Sir, besyde all these thinges, they have certaine termes (as a man woulde saye) appropriate to theyr playinge: whereby they will drawe a mannes moneye, but paye none, which they call barres, that
surelye:

In Suppli.

surelye he that knoweth them not maye soone be debarred of all that ever he hath, before he learne them. If a plaine man lose, as he shall do ever, or els it is a wonder, then the game is so devilish, that he can never leave: for vaine hope (which hope, sayth *Euripides*, destroyeth manye a man and cittye) driveth him on so farre, that he can never return backe, until he be so light that he neede feare no theeves by the waye. Nowe if a simple man happen once in his life to winne of such players, than will they eyther entreate him to keepe them companye whiles he hath lost all againe, or els they will use the most devilysh fashion of all, for one of the players that standeth next him shall have a payre of false dyse, and cast them out upon the bourde, the honest man shall take them and cast them as he did the other, the thirde shall espye them to be false dyse, and shall crye oute harde, with all the othes under God, that he hath falselye wonne theyr moneye, and than there is nothinge but houlde thy throte from my dagger; everye man layeth hande on the simple man, and taketh all theyr money from him, and his owne also, thinking himselfe well, that he escapeth with his life.

Curfed swerynge blasphemye of Christe.] These halfe verses *Chaucer*, in another place, more at large doth well set out, and very livelye expresse, sayinge.

*Ey by Goddes precious hart and his nayles,
And by the bloud of Christe, that is in Hales,
Seven is my chaunce, and thine is cinke and treye,
Ey Goddes armes, if thou falselye playe,
This dagger shall thoroughe thine harte go,
This fruite commeth of the beched boones two,
Forsweringe, ire, falsenesse, and homicide, &c.*

Thoughe these verses be verye earnestlye written, yet they do not halfe so griselye set out the horiblenesse of blasphemye, which such gammers use, as it is indeede, and as I have heard myselfe. For no man can write a thinge so earnestlye, as whan it is spoken with gesture, as learned men, you knowe, do saye. Howe will you thincke that suche furiousnesse, with woode countenaunce, and brenninge eyes, with staringe and bragginge, with hart redye to leape out of the bellye for swellinge,
can

can be expressed the tenth part, to the uttermost. Two men I heard myselfe, whose sayings be farre more griselye, than *Chaucers* verses. One, when he had losse his moneye, sware me God from top to the toe with one breathe, that he had lost all his moneye for lacke of sweringe: the other losinge his moneye, and heaping othes upon othes one in anothers necke, most horrible, and not speakable, was rebuked of an honest man which stood by for so doinge, he by and by, staring him in the face, and clapping his fist, with all his moneye he had, upon the boarde, sware me by the fleshe of God, that, if sweringe would helpe him but one ace, he would not leave one pece of God unsworne, neyther within nor without. The remembrance of this blasphemye, *Philologe*, doth make me quake at the hart, and therefore I will speake no more of it.

And so to conclude with such gaminge, I thincke there no ungratiousnesse in all this world, that carieth a man so farre from God, as this fault doth. And if there were anye so desperate a person, that would begin his hell in earth, I trowe he should not finde hell more like hell itselfe, than the life of those men is, which daily haunt and use such ungratious games.

PHI. You handle this gere indeede; and I suppose, if ye had bene a prentice at such games, you could not have sayd more of them than you have done, and by like you have had somewhat to do with them.

TOX. Indede, you may honestlye gather that I hate them greatly, in that I speak against them: not that I have used them greatly, in that I speake of them. For things be knowne divers wayes, as *Socrates* (you know) doth prove in *Alcibiades*. And if every man should be that, that he speaketh or wryteth upon, then should *Homer* have bene the best captaine, most cowarde, hardye, hasty, wyfe and woode, sage and simple: and *Terence* an oulde man and a younge, an honest man and a bawde: with such like. Surely every man ought to praye to God dailye, to kepe them from such unthriftinesse, and speciallye all the youth of *Englande*: for what youth doth begin, a man will folowe commonlye, even to his dying day: which thinge *Adrastus*, in *Euripides*, pretelye doth expresse, sayinge:

*Euripides
in Suppli.*

*What thing a man in tender age hath most in ure,
That same to death alwayes to kepe he shall be sure.*

Therefore

THE WORKS OF

*Therefore in age who greatly longes good fruite to mowe,
In youth he must himselfe applye good seede to sowe.*

For the foundation of youthe well set (as *Plato* doth saye) the whole bodye of the common wealthe shall flourish thereafter. If the younge tree growe croked, when it is oulde a man shall rather breake it than streight it. And I thincke there is no one thing that crokes youthe more then such unlawfūl games. Nor let no man saye, if they be honestly used they do no harme. For how can that pastime which neyther exerciseth the bodye with any honest labour, nor yet the minde with any honest thinckinge, have any honestye joined with it? Nor let no man assure himselfe that he can use it honestlye: for if he stand therein, he may fortune have a faule, the thinge is more flipperye than he knoweth of. A man maye (I graunt) sit on a brante hill side, but if geve never so little forward, he cannot stoppe, though he would never so fayne, but he must needes runne head-long, he knoweth not how farre. What honest pretences vayne pleasure layeth daily (as it were entisementes or baytes, to pull men forward withall) *Homer* doth well shewe, by the *Sirenes* and *Circe*. And amonges all in that shippe, there was but one *Ulysses*, and yet he had done to as the other did, if a goddesse had not taughte him; and so likewise, I thincke, they be easye to nomber, which passe by playinge honestly, except the grace of God save and keep them. Therefore they that will not go to farre in playinge, let them folowe this counsell of the Poet:

Stoppe the beginninges.

PHI. Well, or you go any further, I praye you tell me this one thinge: Doo ye speake against meane mennes playinge onely, or against greate mennes playinge to, or put you any difference betwixte them? TOX. If I should excuse myselfe herein, and say that I spake of the one and not of the other, I fear leaste I shoulde as fondlye excuse myselfe, as a certaine preacher did, whom I heard upon a time speake against many abuses, (as he sayde) and, at last, he spake against candelles, and then, he fearinge, least some men would have bene angrie and offended with him, Naye, sayth he, you must take me as I meane: I speake not against greate candelles, but against litle candelles, for they be not all
one

one (quoth he) I promise you: and so everye man laughed him to scorne.

Indeede, as for great men, and great mennes matters, I list not greatlye to meddle. Yet this I would wishe, that all great men in *Englande* had redde over diligently the Pardoners Tale in *Chaucer*, and there they shoulde perceiue and see, how muche such games stande with their worshippe, how great soever they be. What great men do, be it good or ill, meane men commonlye love to followe, as many learned men in many places do saye, and dailye experience doth plainlye shewe, in costlye apparell and other like matters.

Therefore, feinge that lordes be lanternes to lead the life of meane men, by their example, either to goodnesse or badnesse, to whether soever they liste: and feinge also they have libertye to list what they will, I praye God they have will to list that which is good; and as for their playing, I will make an ende with this sayinge of *Chaucer*.

*Lordes might finde them other maner of playe,
Honest ynough to dreve the daye awaye.*

But to be short, the best medicine for all sortes of men, both highe and lowe, younge and oulde, to put away such unlawful games is by the contrarye, likewise as all *Phisitions* do allowe in *Phisicke*. So let youthe, instede of such unlawful games, which stande by ydlenesse, by solitarinesse, and corners, by night and darknesse, by fortune and chaunce, by craft and subtiltye, use such pastimes as stand by labour: upon the day light, in open sighte of men, havinge such an ende as is come to by cuninge, rather than by craft: and so should virtue encrease, and vice decaye. For contrarye pastimes, must nedes worke contrarye mindes in men, as all other contrarye thinges do.

And thus we see, *Philologe*, that shootinge is not onlye the most hole-some exercise for the bodye, the most honest pastime for the minde, and that for all sortes of men: but also it is a most redye medycine, to purge the whole realme of such pestilent gaminge, wherewith manye times it is sore troubled, and ill at ease.

THE WORKS OF

PHI. The more honestye you have proved by shootinge, *Toxophile*, and the more you have perswaded me to love it, so much trulye the foryer have you made me with this laste sentence of yours, whereby you plainly prove that a man may not greatly use it. For if shootinge be a medicine (as you saye that it is) it may not be used very oft, lest a man should hurte himselfe withall, as medycines much occupied doo. For *Aristotle* himselfe sayth, that medycines be not meate to live withall: and thus shootinge, by the same reason, maye not be much occupied.

Hippoc. de
med. purg.

Tox. You playe your olde wontes, *Philologe*, in dalyinge with other mennes wittes, not so much to prove your owne matter, as to prove what other men can saye. But where you thincke that I take away much use of shootinge, in lykening it to a medicine: because men use not medycines everye daye, for so should theyr bodyes be hurte: I rather prove daily use of shootinge thereby. For although *Aristotle* sayth that some medycines be no meate to live withal, which is true: yet *Hippocrates* sayth our dailye meates be medycines, to withstand evill withal, which is as true, for he maketh two kindes of medycines, one our meate that we use dailye, which purgeth softlye and slowlye, and in this similitude maye shooting be called a medicine, wherewith dailye a man maye purge and take away all unlawful desires to other unlawful pastimes, as I proved before. The other is a quicke purginge medicine, and seldomer to be occupied, except the matter be greater, and I could describe the nature of a quicke medicine, which should within a while purge and plucke out all the unthriftye games in the realme, through which the common wealthe oftentimes is sicke. For not onely good quicke wittes to learninge be thereby broughte oute of frame, and quite marred, but also manly wittes, eyther to attempt matters of high courage in warre time, or else to atchieve matters of weight and wysdome in peace time, be made thereby very quasye and faynte. For loke through all histories written in *Greeke*, *Latine*, or other language, and you shall never finde that realme prosper in the whiche such ydle pastimes are used. As concerninge the medicine, although some would be discontent, if they heard me meddle anye thinge with it: yet, betwixt you and me here alone, I maye the boldlyer saye my fantasie, and the rather because I will onely wish for it, which standeth with honesty, not determine of it, which belongeth to authoritye. The medicine is this, that would to God and the Prince,
all

all these unthriftye ydle pastimes, which be very bugges that the *Psalme* Psalme 90. meaneth on, walking on the night and in corners, were made felonye, and some of that punishment ordayned for them, which is appointed for the forgers and falsifyers of the King's coyne. Which punishment is not by me now invented, but long ago, by the moste noble oratour *Demosthenes*, which marveileth greatlye that death is appointed for falsifyers and forgers of the coyne, and not as greate punishmente ordayned for them, which by their meanes forges and falsifyes the common wealth. And I suppose that there is no one thinge that changeth soner the golden silver wittes of men into copperye and brassye wayes, then dysfinge and such unlawfull pastimes.

And this quicke medycine, I believe, woulde so throwlye purge them, that the daily medycines, as shootinge and other pastimes joynd with honest labour, shoulde easelyer withstand them. PHI. The excellent commodities of shootinge in peace time, *Toxophile*, you have verye well and sufficiently declared. Whereby you have so perswaded me, that, God willinge, hereafter I will both love it the better, and also use it the ofter. For as much as I can gather of all this communication of ours, the tongue, the nose, the handes, and the feete, be no fitter members, or instrumentes for the bodye of a man, than is shootinge for the hole body of the realme. God hath made the partes of men which be best and most necessarye, to serve, not for one purpose onlye, but for manye: as the tongue for speakinge and tastinge, the nose for smellinge, and also for avoydinge all excrementes, which faule out of the head, the handes for receiving of good thinges, and for puttinge of all harmfull thinges from the bodye. So shootinge is an exercise of healthe, a pastime of honeste pleasure, and such one also that stoppeth and avoydeth all noysome games, gathered and encreased by ill rule, as noughtye humours be, which hurt and corrupte fore that parte of the realme, wherein they do remayne. But nowe if you can shewe but halfe so muche profite in warre of shootinge, as you have proved pleasure in peace, then will I surelye judge that there be fewe thinges that have so manifolde commodities and uses joynd unto them as it hath.

Tox. The upper hand in warre, next the goodnesse of God, (of whom Mach. 5. 3. all victory commeth, as Scripture sayth) standeth chieflye in three thinges: in the wisedome of the Prince, in the sleighes and pollicies of the captaynes,

taynes, and in the strengthe and cherefull forwardnesse of the souldiours. A Prince in his harte muste be full of mercye and peace, a vertue most pleasaunt to Christ, most agreeable to mans nature, most profitable for riche and poore; for then the riche man enjoyeth with great pleasure the which he hath: the poore may obtaine with his labour, that which he lacketh. And althoughe there is nothinge worse then * warre, whereof it taketh his name, throughe the which great men be in daunger, meane men without succour; riche men in feare, because they have somewhat; poore men in care, because they have nothinge; and every man in doubt and miserye: yet it is a civill medycine, wherewith a Prince may, from the bodye of his common wealthe, put off that danger which may faule: or els recover againe, whatsoever it hath losse. And therefore, as *Isocrates* doth saye, a Prince must be a warriour in two thinges, in cunninge and knowledge of all sleighes and feates of warre, and in havinge all necessary habilimentes belonging to the same. Which matter to entreate at large, were over longe at this time to declare, and over much for my learninge to perfourme.

De Sen.

After the wisedome of the Prince, are valiant captaines most necessarye in warre, whose office and dutye is to knowe all sleighes and pollicies for all kindes of warre, which they may learne two wayes, eyther in dailye folowinge and hauntinge the warres, or els, because wysedome boughte with stripes is manye times over costlye, they may bestow some time in *Vegetius*, which entreateth such matters in *Latine* metelye well, or rather in *Polyenus*, and *Leo* the Emperour, which setteth oute all pollicies and duties of captaines in the *Greeke* tongue verye excellentlye. But chieflie I would wishe, and (if I were of authoritye) I would counsell all the younge gentlemen of this realme, never to laye out of their hands two authors, *Zenophon* in *Greeke*, and *Cæsar* in *Latine*, wherein they should folow noble *Scipio Africanus*, as *Tullie* doth say: in which two authors, besydes eloquence, a thinge most necessarye of all other for a captaine, they should learne the hole course of warre, which those two noble men did not more wiselye write for other men to learne, than they did manfully exercise in the field, for other men to folowe.

* *War* is an old word, still used in some counties for *worse*, and *Ascham* supposes that *war* or hostility is so named because it is *war* or *worse* than peace.

The strengthe of warre lyeth in the souldiour, whose chiefe prayse Obedience. and vertue is obedience towarde his captaine, sayth *Plato*. And *Zeno-* Plat. leg. 12.
phon, being a gentyle author, most christianlye doth saye, even by Zen. Agef.
these wordes, that that souldiour which first serveth God, and then obeyeth his captaine, maye boldlye, with all courage, hope to overthrowe his enemye. Againe, without obedience, neyther valiant man, stout Zen. Hipp.
horse, nor goodly harnesse, doth any good at all: which obedience of the souldiour toward the captaine, brought the hole empyre of the world into the *Romaynes* handes, and, when it was brought, kept it longer than ever it was kept in any common wealth before or after. And this to be true, *Scipio Africanus*, the most noble captain that ever Plutarchus.
was among the *Romaynes*, shewed very plainly, what time as he went into *Africke* to destroy *Carthage*. For he resting his hoast by the way in *Sicilie*, a day or two, and at a time standinge with a great man of *Sicilie*, and lokinge on his soldiours how they exercised themselves in kepinge of arraye, and other feates, the gentleman of *Sicilie* asked *Scipio*, wherein laye his chief hope to overcome *Carthage*? He aunswered, In yonder fellowes of myne whom you see playe: And why? sayth the other; Because, sayth *Scipio*, that, if I commanded them to runne into the top of this high castle, and cast themselves downe backward upon these rockes, I am sure they would do it. *Salust* also doth write, Sal. in Cat.
that there were mo *Romaynes* put to death of their captaynes for settinge on their enemyes before they had licence, than were for runninge away out of the field, before they had foughten. These two examples do prove, that amonges the *Romaynes*, the obedience of the souldiours was wonderfull greate, and the severitye of the captaynes, to see the same kept, wonderfull strayte. For they well perceived that an hoast full of obedience, falleth as seldome into the handes of their enemyes, as that body falleth into jeopardye, the which is ruled by reason. Reason and rulers being like in office, (for the one ruleth the body of man, the other ruleth the body of the common wealthe) oughte to be like of conditions, and oughte to be obeyed in all maner of matters. Obedience is nourished by feare and love, feare is kept in by true justyce and equitye, love is gotten by wysedome, joyned by liberalitie. For where a souldiour seeth righteousnesse so rule, that a man can do neyther wronge, nor yet take wronge, and that his captaine for his wysedome can maintaine him, and for his liberalitie will maintaine him, he must needes both love him and feare him, of the which procedeth

procedeth true and unfayned obedience. After this inwarde vertue, the next good point in a souldiour is to have and to handle his weapon well, whereof the one must be at the appointment of the captaine, the other lyeth in the courage and exercise of the souldiour. Yet of all weapons, the best is, as *Euripides* doth saye, wherewith what least daunger of ourselfe we may hurte our enemye most. And that is (as I suppose) artillerie. Artillerie, now a dayes, is taken for two thinges: gunnes and bowes, which, how much they do in warre, both daily experience doth teache, and also *Peter Nannius*, a learned man of *Louayn*, in a certaine dialogue doth very well set oute, wherein this is most notable, that when he hath shewed excedinge commodities of both, and some discommodities of gunnes, as infinite cost and charge, combersome carriage, and, if they be greate, the uncertaine levelinge, the perill of them that stand by them, the easyer avoidinge by them that stande farre of: and, if they be litle, the lesse both fear and jeoperdye is in them, besyde all contrarye wether and winde, which hindereth them not a litle; yet of all shootinge he cannot reherse one discommoditye.

In Herc. fur.

PHI. That I marveile greatly at, feinge *Nannius* is so well learned, and so exercised in the authors of both the tongues: for I myselfe do remember, that shootinge in warre is but smallye praysed, and that of divers captaines in divers authors. For first in *Euripides*, whom you so highlye prayse (and verye well, for *Tullye* thinketh everye verse in him to be an authoritye) what, I praye you, doth *Lycus*, that overcame *Thebes*, saye as concerninge shootinge? whose wordes, as farre as I remember, be these, or not much unlike.

Eurip. in
Herc. furent.

*What prayse hath he at all, which never durst abyde,
The dint of a speares point thrust against his syde.
Nor never bouldly buckeler bare yet in his left hande,
Face to face his enemies bront stiffelye to withstande,
But alwaye trusteth to a bowe, and to a feathered sticke,
Harnesse ever most fit for him whiche to flie is quicke,
Bowe and shaft is armoure metest for a cowarde
Which dare not ones abide the bront of battaile sharpe and harde.
But he a man of manhode most is mine assent,
Which, with hart and courage bould, fullie hath him bent,
His enemies loke in everye stoure stoutelie to abide,
Face to face, and foote to foote, tide what maye betide.*

Againe, *Teucer*, the best archer amonge all the *Grecians*, in *Sophocles* Sophoc. in
Sia. Flag. is called of *Menelaus* a bowe-man, and a shooter, as in villianye and reproach, to be a thinge of no price in warre. Moreover, *Pandarus*, the best shooter in the worlde, whom *Apollo* himselfe taughte to shoote, both he and his shootinge is quite contemned in *Homer*, in so much that *Homer* (which under a made fable doth alwayes hide his judgment of thinges) doth make *Pandarus* himselfe crye out of shootinge, and cast his bowe away, and take him to a speare, makinge a vow, that if ever he came home, he would breake his shaftes, and burne his bowe, lamentinge greatlye, that he was so fonde to leave at home his horse and chariot, with other weapons, for the trust that he had in his bow. *Homer* signifying thereby, that men should leave shootinge out of warre, and take them to other weapons more fitte and able for the same, and I trowe *Pandarus* wordes be much what after this sort. Iliad 5.

*If chaunce ill lucke me byther brought,
Ill fortune me that day befell,
When first my bowe from the pynne I raughte,
For Hectors sake, the Greekes to quell.
But if that God so for me shape
That home againe I maye ones come,
Let me never enjoye that hap,
Nor ever twise looke on the sonne,
If bowe and shaftes I do not burne,
Which now so evill doth serve my turne.*

But to let passe all poetes, what can be forer sayd against any thinge, than the judgement of *Cyrus* is against shootinge, which doth cause his *Persians*, being the best shooters, to lay away their bowes, and take them to swordes and buckelers, speares and dartes, and other like hande weapons. The which thinge *Zenophon*, so wyse a philosopher, so expert a captaine in warre himselfe, would never have written, and specially in that booke wherein he purposed to shewe, as *Tullye* sayth in deede, not the true historye, but the example of a perfite wyse Prince and common wealth, excepte that judgement of chaunging artillery into other weapons he had alwayes thought best to be folowed in all warre. Whose counsayle the *Partians* did folowe, when they chased *Antonye* over the mountaynes of *Media*, which beinge the best shooters Zen. Cyr.
Inst. 6.
Epist. 1. ad
Q. Fra.
Plutarch.
M. Ant.

of

of the worlde, lefte theyr bowes, and toke them to speares and morispikes. And these fewe examples, I trowe, of the beste shooters, do well prove that the best shootinge is not the best thing, as you call it, in warre.

Tox. As concerninge your first example, taken out of *Euripides*, I marveile you will bringe it for the dispraise of shootinge, seeinge *Euripides* doth make those verses, not because he thinketh them true, but because he thinketh them fit for the person that spake them. For indede his true judgement of shootinge, he doth expresse by and by after in the oration of the noble Captaine *Amphytrio* against *Lycus*, wherein a man maye doubt, whether he hath more eloquentlie confuted *Lycus* sayinge, or more worthilye set oute the prayse of shootinge. And as I am advised, his wordes be much hereafter as I shall saye.

Eurip. in
Herc. fur.

*Against the wittie gift of shootinge in a bowe,
Fonde and leude wordes thou leudlie doest out throwe,
Which if thou wilt heare of me a worde or twayne
Quicklie thou mayst learne how fondlie thou doest blame.*

*First he that with his barneis himselfe doth wall about,
That scarce is left one hole through which he may pepe out.
Such bond men to their barneis to fight are nothings mete,
But sonest of all other are troden under fete.
If he be stronge, his felowes faint, in whom he putteth his trust,
So loded with his barneis he must nedes lie in the dust,
Nor yet from death he cannot start, if ones his weapon breke,
Howe stout, howe stronge, howe great, howe longe, so ever be such a freke.
But whosoever can handle a bowe, sturdie, stiffe, and stronge,
Wherewith like bayle manie shaftes he shootes into the thickest thronge:
This profite he takes, that standinge a farre his enemies he may spill,
When he and his full safe shall stande, out of all daunger and ill.
And this in warre is wysedome most, which workes our enemies woo,
When we shall be far from all feare and jeopardie of our foo.*

Secondarily, even as I do not greatly regarde what *Menelaus* doth saye in *Sophocles* to *Teucer*, because he spake it both in anger, and also to him that he hated; even so do I remember very well in *Homer*, that when *Hector* and the *Troyans* would have set fyre on the *Greeke* ships,
Teucer,

Teucer, with his bowe, made them recule back againe, when *Menelaus* toke him to his feete, and ranne awaye.

Thirdlye, as concerninge *Pandarus*, *Homer* doth not dispraye the Hom. Il. 5. noble gift of shootinge, but thereby everye man is taughte, that whatsoever, and howe good soever a weapon a man doth use in warre, if he be himselfe a covetous wretche, a foole without counsaile, a peace breaker, as *Pandarus* was, at last he shall, throughe the punishment of God, faule into his enemies bandes, as *Pandarus* did, whom *Diomedes*, throughe the helpe of *Minerva*, miserablye flue.

And, because you make mention of *Homer*, and *Troye* matters, what can be more prayse for any thinge, I praye you, than that is for shootinge, that *Troye* could never be destroyed without the help of *Hercules* shaftes, which thing doth signifye, that, although all the world were gathered in an armye together, yet, without shootinge, they can never come to their purpose, as *Ulysses*, in *Sophocles*, very plainlye doth saye unto *Pyrrhus*, as concerning *Hercules* shaftes to be carried into *Troye*.

Nor you without them, nor without you they do ought.

Soph. Phil.

Fourthlye, whereas *Cyrus* did chaunge part of his bowmen, whereof he had plenty, in other men of warre, whereof he lacked, I will not greatlye dispute whether *Cyrus* did well in that pointe in those dayes or Zen. Cyri, no, because it is plaine in *Zenophon* howe stronge shooters the *Persians* Instit. 6. were, what bowes they had, what shaftes and heades they occupied, what kind of warre theyr enemyes used.

But trulye, as for the *Parthians*, it is plaine in *Plutarche*, that, in Plut. in M. chaunginge theyr bowes into speares, they broughte theyr selfe into utter destruction. For when they had chased the *Romaynes* many a myle, Anton. throughe reason of their bowes, at the last the *Romaynes*, ashamed of theyr flyinge, and remembringe theyr olde noblenesse and courage, imagined this way, that they would kneele down on theyr knees, and so cover all theyr body with theyr shieldes and targettes, that the *Parthians* shaftes might slide over them, and do them no harme; which thing when the *Parthians* perceyved, thinkinge that the *Romaynes* were forweryed with laboure, watche, and hunger, they layed downe theyr
O bowes,

bowes, and toke speres in theyr handes, and so ranne upon them; but the *Romaynes* perceyvinge them without theyr bowes, rose up manfullye, and slue them every mothers sonne, save a fewe that saved themselves with runninge awaye. And herein our archers of *Englande* farre passe the *Parthians*, which for such a purpose, when they shall come to hand strokes, hath ever redye, eyther at his back hanginge, or els in his next felowes hand, a leaden maule, or such like weapon, to beat downe his enemies withall.

PHI. Well, *Toxophile*, seeinge that those examples, which I had thought to have been cleane against shootinge, you have thus turned to the high prayse of shootinge: and all this prayse that you have nowe sayde on it, is rather come in by me than sought for of you: let me heare, I praye you now, those examples which you have marked of shootinge yourselfe: whereby you are perswaded, and thincke to perswade other, that shootinge is so good in warre.

Tox. Examples surely I have marked very manye; from the beginninge of time had in memorye of writinge, throughout all common wealthes and empyres of the worlde: whereof the most parte I will passe over, lest I should be tedious: yet some I will touche, because they be notable, both for me to tell and you to heare.

And because the storye of the *Jewes* is for the time most auncient, for the truthe most credible, it shall be most fitte to begin with them. And althoughe I know that God is the onely giver of victorie, and

Mach. 1. 3. not the weapons, for all strengthe and victorie (sayth *Judas Machabeus*) commeth from heaven: yet surelye strong weapons be the instrumentes wherewith God doth overcome that parte, which he will have overthrowen. For God is well pleased with wyse and witty feates of warre: as in meting of enemyes for truse takinge, to have privilye in * a bushmente harneist men layed for feare of treason, as *Judas Machabeus* did

Mach. 2. 14. with *Nicanor*, *Demetrius* captaine. And to have engines of warre to beat down cities withal: and to have scout watch amonges our enemyes to know theyr counsayles, as the noble captaine *Jonathan*, brother to

Mach. 1. 12. *Judas Machabeus*, did in the countrie of *Amathie*, against the mightye hoast of *Demetrius*. And, beside all this, God is pleased to have goodlye tombes for them which do noble feates in warre, and to have theyr images made, and also theyr cote armours to be set above theyr tombes,

* *A bushment.*] This word I do not remember elsewhere: perhaps it should be in *ambushment*.

to theyr perpetual laude and memorye! As the valiante captaine *Symon* did cause to be made for his brethren *Judas Machabeus* and *Jonathan*, when they were slaine of the *Gentiles*. And thus, of what authoritye feates of warre, and stronge weapons be, shortlye and plainlye we may learne. But amonges the *Jewes*, as I begin to tell, I am sure there was nothinge so occupied, or did so much good as bowes did; in so much, that when the *Jewes* had any great upper-hand over the *Gentiles*, the first thinge alwayes that the captaine did, was to exhorte the people to geve all the thanks to God for the victorie, and not to theyr bowes, wherewith they had slaine theyr enemies: as it is plaine the noble *Josue* did after so manye kinges thrust downe by him. Mach. 1. 13. Jos. 13.

God, when he promiseth helpe to the *Jewes*, he useth no kind of speakinge so much as this, that he will bende his bowe, and die his shaftes in the *Gentiles* bloud: whereby it is manifest, that eyther God will make the *Jewes* shoote stronge shootes to overthrowe theyr enemies, or, at least, that shootinge is a wonderfull mighty thinge in warre, whereunto the high power of God is likened. *David*, in the *Psalmes*, calleth bowes the vessels of death, a bitter thinge, and, in an other place, a mightye power, and other wayes mo, which I will let passe, because every man readeth them dailye: but yet one place of Scripture I must needs remember, which is more notable for the prayse of shootinge, than any that ever I redde in any other storye, and that is, when *Saule* was slaine by the *Philistines*, beinge mightye bowmen, and *Jonathan* his sonne with him, that was so good a shooter, as the Scripture sayth, that he never shote shafte in vaine, and that the kingdome, after *Saules* death, came unto *David*: the first statute and lawe that ever *David* made after he was Kinge, was this, that all the children of *Israell* should learne to shoote, according to a lawe made many a daye before that time, for the setting out of shootinge, as it is written (sayth Scripture) in *Libro Juslorum*, which booke we have not now. And thus we see plainly what great use of shootinge, and what provision even from the beginninge of the worlde for shootinge was amonge the *Jewes*. Deut. 32. Psal. 7. 63. 75. Regum 1. 31. Regum 2. 1.

The *Ethiopians* which inhabite the furthest parte South in the worlde, were wonderfull bowmen: insomuch that when *Cambyses* King of *Persie*, being in *Egypt*, sent certaine embassadours into *Ethiope* to the King there,

Herodotus
in Thalia.

there, with manye great giftes: the King of *Ethiope*, perceyvinge them to be espyes, toke them uppe sharpe, and blamed *Cambyfes* greatly for such unjust enterprises: but after that he had princelye entertayned them, he sent for a bowe, and bente it and drewe it, and then unbent it againe, and sayd unto the embassadours, you shall comende me to *Cambyfes*, and geve him this bowe from me, and bidde him when any *Persian* can shoote in this bowe, let him set upon the *Ethiopians*: in the mean while let him geve thanckes unto God, which doth not put in the *Ethiopians* mindes to conquere any other mans lande.

This bowe, when it came amonge the *Persians*, never one man in such an infinite hoast (as *Herodotus* doth saye) could styre the stringe, save only *Smerdis*, the brother of *Cambyfes*, which styred it two fingers, and no further: for the which acte *Cambyfes* had such envye at him, that he afterwarde slue him: as doth appeare in the storye.

Herod. in
Enterpe.
Diod. Sic. 2.

Sesostris, the most mightye Kinge that ever was in *Egypte*, overcame a great part of the world, and that by archers: he subdued the *Arabians*, the *Jewes*, the *Affyrians*: he went farther in *Scythia* than anye man els: he overcame *Thracia*, even to the borders of *Germanye*. And, in token how he overcame all men, he set uppe in manye places great images to his owne likenesse, havinge in one hand a bowe, in the other a sharpe headed shafte: that men might knowe what weapon his hoast used, in conqueringe so manye people.

Herod. in
Clio.

Cyrus, counted a God amonge the *Gentiles*, for his noblenesse and felicitye in warre: yet, at the last, when he set upon the *Massagetes*, (which people never went without theyr bowe nor theyr quiver, neyther in warre nor peace) he and all his were slaine, and that by shootinge, as appeareth in the storye.

Herod. in
Thal.

Polycrates, the Prince of *Samos*, (a very litle isle) was lord over all the *Greeke* seas, and withstode the power of the *Persians*, only by the helpe of a thousande archers.

The people of *Scythia*, of all other men, loved and used most shootinge; the hole riches and housholde stufte of a man in *Scythia* was

a yoake of oxen, a ploughe, his nagge and his dogge, his bowe and his quiver: which quiver was covered with the skin of a man, which he toke or flue first in battaile. The *Scythians* to be invincible, by reason of theyr shootinge, the great voyages of so manye conquerours spent in that countrie in vaine, doth well prove: but speciallye that of *Darius* the mightye King of *Persia*, which, when he had tarried there a great space, and done no good, but had forwearyed his hoast with travaile and hunger; at last the men of *Scythia* sent an embassadour with four giftes, a byrde, a frogge, a mouse and five shaftes. *Darius* marveylinge at the straungenesse of the giftes, asked the messenger what they signified: the messenger aunswered, that he had no further commandment, but only to deliver his giftes, and returne againe with all speede: But I am sure (sayth he) you *Persians* for your great wysedome can soone bould out what they meane. When the messenger was gone, every man began to say his verdite. *Darius* judgemente was this, that the *Scythians* gave over into the *Persians* handes theyr lives, theyr hole power, both by lande and sea, signifyinge by the mouse the earth, by the frogge the water, in which they both live, by the byrde theyr lives, which live in the ayre, by the shaft theyr hole power and empyre, that was maintayned always by shootinge. *Gobryas*, a noble and wyse captaine amonges the *Persians*, was of a clean contrarye minde, sayinge, Naye, not so, but the *Scythians* meane thus by theyr giftes, that except we gette us winges, and flye into the ayre like byrdes, or runne into the holes of the earth like myse, or els lye lurking in fennes and marishes, like frogges, we shall never returne home againe, before we be utterlye undone with theyr shaftes: which sentence sanke so fore into theyr hartes, that *Darius*, with all speede possible, brake uppe his campe and gat himselfe homewarde. Yet how much the *Persians* themselves sette by shootinge, whereby they encreased their empyre so much, doth appear by three manifest reasons: first that they brought uppe theyr youth in the schole of shootinge unto twentye years of age, as divers noble *Greeke* authours do saye.

Herod. in
Mlpom.

Herod. in
Clio.

Againe, because the noble Kinge *Darius* thought himselfe to be praysed by nothinge so much as to be counted a good shooter, as doth appear by his sepulchre, wherein he caused to be written this sentence:

Zen. in Cyr.
Strab. 11.

Darius

Strab. 15.

*Darius the King lyeth buried here,
That in shootinge and rydinge had never pere.*

Plutarch in
Angelila.

Thirdlye, the coyne of the *Persians*, both golde and silver, had the armes of *Persia* upon it, as is customably used in other realmes, and that was bowe and arrowes: by the which feate they declared how much they set by them.

Suidas.

The *Grecians* also, but speciallye the noble *Atheniensis*, had all theyr strengthe lyinge in artillerie: and, for that purpose, the citie of *Athens* had a thousand men, which were only archers, in daile wages, to watch and kepe the citie from all jeopardy and sodaine daunger: which archers also should carye to prision and warde anye misdoer, at the commaundment of the highe officers, as plainlye doth appeare in *Plato*. And surelye the bowmen of *Athens* did wonderfull feates in many battels, but speciallye when *Demosthenes*, the valiant captaine, flue and toke prisioners all the *Lacedemonians*, besyde the citie of *Pylos*, where *Nestor* some time was lorde: the shaftes went so thicke that day, (sayth *Thucidydes*) that no man could see theyr enemyes. A *Lacedemonian*, taken prisioner, was asked of one at *Athens*, whether they were stoute fellowes that were slaine or no, of the *Lacedemonians*? He answered nothinge els but this: Make much of those shaftes of youre, for they know neyther stoute nor unstoute: meaninge thereby that no man (though he were never so stoute) came in theyr walke that escaped without death.

Plato in Pro-
tagora.

Thucyd. 4.

Herod. in
Polym.Æsch. in
Pers.

Herodotus descrybinge the mightye hoast of *Xerxes*, especiallye doth marke oute, what bowes and shaftes they used, signifyinge that therein laye theyr chiefe strengthe. And at the same time *Atossa*, mother of *Xerxes*, wyfe to *Darius*, and daughter of *Cyrus*, doth enquire (as *Æschylus* sheweth in a tragedye) of a certaine messenger that came from *Xerxes* hoast, what stronge and fearfull bowes the *Grecians* used: whereby it is playne, that artillerye was the thinge, wherein both *Europe* and *Asia* in those days trusted most upon.

The best part of *Alexanders* hoast were archers, as plainlye doth appeare by *Arrianus*, and other that wrote his life: and those so strong archers, that they onlye, fundry times overcame theyr enemyes afore
any

any other needed to fighte: as was seene in the battaile which *Nearchus*, one of *Alexanders* captaines, had besyde the ryver *Thomeron*. And therefore, as concerninge all these kingdomes and common wealthes, I maye conclude with this sentence of *Plinye*, whose wordes be, as I suppose, thus: "If anye man would remember the *Ethiopians*, *Egyptians*, *Arabians*, the men of *Inde*, of *Scythia*, so many people in the Easte of the *Sarmatians*, and all the kingdomes of the *Parthians*, he shall perceive halfe the parte of the worlde to live in subjection, overcome by the mighte and power of shootinge." Plin. lib. 16. cap. 36.

In the common wealth of *Rome*, which exceeded all other in vertue, noblenesse and dominion, little mention is made of shootinge, not because it was little used amonges them, but rather because it was so necessarye and common, that it was thought a thinge not necessarye or required of anye man to be spoken upon; as if a man should descrybe a great feast, he would not ones name breade, althoughe it be most common and necessarye of all: but surelye, if a feast, being never so great, lacked breade, or had fewstye and noughtye breade, all the other dainties should be unsavorye, and litle regarded, and then would men talke of the commoditie of bread, when they lacke it, that would not ones name it afore, when they had it: and even so did the *Romaynes*, as concerninge shootinge. Seldome is shootinge named, and yet it did the most good in warre, as did appeare verie plainlye in that battaile, which *Scipio Africanus* had with the *Numantines* in *Spaine*, whom he could never overcome, before he set bowemen amonges his horsemen, by whose might they were cleane vanquished.

Againe, *Tiberius*, fightinge with *Armenius* and *Inquiomerus*, Princes of *Germanye*, had one winge of archers on horsebacke, an other of archers on foote, by whose might the *Germanes* were slaine downright, and so scattered and beate out of the felde, that the chase lasted ten miles; the *Germanes* clame up into trees for feare, but the *Romaynes* did fetch them downe with theyr shaftes, as they had been birdes, in which battaile the *Romaynes* lost few or none, as doth appeare in the historye.

But as I beganne to saye, the *Romaynes* did not so much prayse the goodnesse of shootinge, when they had it, as they did lament the lacke of
of

of it, when they wanted it, as *Leo* the V. the noble Emperour, dothe plainly testifye in sundrye places in those booke which he wrote in *Greeke*, of the sleightes and pollicies of warre.

PHI. Surelye of that booke I have not heard before, and how came you to the sight of it? Tox. The booke is rare trulye, but this last yeare, when Maister *Cheke* translated the sayde booke oute of *Greeke* into *Latine*, to the Kings Majestye, *Henrye* the Eyght, of noble memorye, he, of his gentlenesse, would have me verye oft in his chamber, and, for the familiaritye that I had with him, more than manye other, would suffer me to reade of it, when I would, the which thinge to do, surelye I was verye desirous and glad, because of the excellent handeling of all thinges, that ever he taketh in hande. And verilye, *Philologe*, as oft as I remember the departinge of that man from the *Univerfitye*, (which thinge I do not feldome) so ofte do I well perceive our most helpe and furthuraunce to learninge, to have gone away with him. For, by the great commoditie that we toke in hearinge him reade privately in his chamber, all *Homer*, *Sophocles*, and *Euripides*, *Herodotus*, *Thucydides*, *Zenophon*, *Isocrates*, and *Plato*, we feele the great discommodity in not hearinge of him, *Aristotle* and *Demosthenes*, which two authours, with all diligence, last of all, he thought to have redde unto us. And when I consider howe manye men be succoured with his helpe, and his ayde to abyde here for learninge, and howe all men were provoked and styrred up, by his counfayle and dailye example, howe they should come to learninge, surelye I perceive that sentence of *Plato* to be true, which sayeth: " that
" there is nothinge better in anye common wealthe, than that there
" should be alwayes one or other excellent passinge man, whose life
" and vertue shoulde plucke forward the will, diligence, laboure, and
" hope of all other, that, folowinge his foot-steppes, they might come
" to the same ende, whereunto labour, learninge, and vertue, had conveyed him before."

Sir John
Cheke.

The great hinderaunce of learninge, in lackinge this man, greatly I should lament, if this discommoditye of ours were not joyned with the commoditie and wealth of the whole realme, for which purpose our noble Kinge, full of wysedome, called uppe this excellent man, full of learninge, to teache noble Prince *Edwarde*, an office full of hope, comforte, and solace, to all true hartes of *Englande*: for whom all *Englande* dailye doth praye, that he, passing his tutour in learninge and knowledge,

ledge, followinge his father in wysedome and felicitye, accordinge to that example which is set afore his eyes, maye so set oute and maintayne Gods word, to the abolishment of all papistry, the confusion of all heresye, that thereby be feared of his enemyes, loved of all his subjects, may bring to his own glorye immortal fame and memory, to this realme, wealth, honour, and felicity, to true and unfained religion perpetuall peace, concord and unitye.

But to returne to shootinge againe, what *Leo* sayth of shootinge, amonges the *Romaynes*, his wordes be so much for the prayse of shootinge, and the booke also so rare to be gotten, that I learned the places by hearte, which be, as I suppose, even this. First in his sixte booke, as concerninge what harnesse is best: "Let all the youth of *Rome* be compelled
" to use shootinge, eyther more or les, and alwayes to beare theyr bowe
" and theyr quiver aboute with them, untill they be eleven yeares olde." For sithens shootinge was neglected and decayed amonge the *Romaynes*, many a battayle and fielde hath bene lost. Agayne, in the eleventh booke and fiftieth chapter, (I call that by bookes and chapters, which the *Greeke* book divideth by chapters and paragraphes) "Let your
" souldiours have theyr weapons well appointed and trimmed, but,
" above all other thinges, regard most shootinge, and therefore let
" men, when there is no warre, use shootinge at home. For the leav-
" inge off onelye of shootinge, hath brought in ruine and decaye the
" whole empyre of *Rome*." Leo. 6. 5.

Afterwarde he commaundeth agayne his captaine by these wordes.
"Arme your hoaste as I have appointed you, but especiallye with
" bowe and arrowes plentye. For shootinge is a thinge of much
" mighte and power in warre, and chieflie agaynst the *Saracenes*
" and *Turkes*, which people hath all theyr hope of victorie in
" theyr bowe and shaftes." Besides all this, in an other place, he
wryteth thus to his captayne. "Artillerye is easy to be prepared,
" and, in time of great nede, a thinge most profitable, therefore we
" straitelye commaund you to make proclamation to all men under
" our dominion, which be eyther in warre or peace, to all cities, bor-
" rowes, and townes, and finally, to all maner of men, that every
" fere person have bowe and shaftes of his owne, and everye house be-
" fides
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“ fides this to have a standinge bearinge bowe, and forty shaftes for
 “ all nedes, and that they exercise themselves in holts, hilles, and
 “ dales, plaines and woods, for all maner of chaunces in warre.”

How much shootinge was used among the olde *Romaynes*, and what meanes noble captaynes and emperours made to have it increase amonges them, and what hurte came by the decaye of it, these wordes of *Leo* the Emperour, which, in a maner, I have rehearsed word for word, plainly doth declare.

Leo. 7. 13. And yet shootinge, althoughe they set never so much by it, was never so good then, as it is now in *Englande*; which thinge to be true is very probable, in that *Leo* doth say, “ That he would have his
 “ fouldiours take off theyr arrow heades, and one shoote at another,
 “ for theyr exercise;” which play if *English* archers used, I thincke they should finde small playe, and lesse pleasure in it at all.

Plutarch. in
 Craß. & in
 M. Anton.
 Ael. Spart. The greate upperhande maintayned alwayes in warre by artillerye, doth appear very plainlye by this reason also, that when the *Spaniardes*, *Frenchmen*, and *Germanes*, *Greekes*, *Macedonians*, and *Egyptians*, eche cuntrye usinge one singuler weapon, for which they were greatlye feared in warre, as the *Spaniarde Lancea*, the *Frenchman Gesa*, the *Germane Framea*, the *Grecian Machera*, the *Macedonian Sarissa*, yet could they not escape but be subiectes to the empyre of *Rome*, when the *Parthians*, having all theyr hope in artillerye, gave no place to them, but overcame the *Romaynes* ofter than the *Romaynes* them, and kept battel with them many an hundred yeare, and slue the riche *Craßus* and his sonne, with many a stout *Romayne* more, with theyr bowes; they drave *Marcus Antonius* over the hills of *Media* and *Armenia*, to his great shame and reproche; they slue *Julianus Apostata*, and *Antoninus Caracalla*; they held in perpetuall prison the most noble Emperour *Valerian*, in despyte of all the *Romaynes* and many other princes, which wrote for his deliveraunce, as *Belsolis*, called King of *Kinges*, *Valerius* Kinge of *Cadusia*, *Arthabesdes* King of *Armenia*, and manye other Princes more, whome the *Parthians*, by reason of theyr artillerye, regarded never one whitte, and thus with the *Romaynes*, I maye conclude, that the borders of theyr empyre were not at the sunne ryfinge
 and

and funne settinge, as *Tullye* sayth ; but so farre they went, as artillerye would geve them leave. For, I thinck, all the ground that they had, eyther Northward, further than the borders of *Scythia*, or Eastward, further than the borders of *Parthia*, a man might have bought with a *Paulus Dia.* small deale of money, of which thinge surely shooting was the cause.

From the same country of *Scythia*, the *Gothians*, *Hunnes*, and *Vandalians*, came with the same weapon of artillerye, as *Paulus Diaconus* doth saye, and so bereft *Rome* of her empyre by fyre, spoyle, and waste, so that in such a learned city was left scarce one man behinde, that had learninge or leifure to leave in writinge to them which should come after how so noble an empyre, in so short a while, by a rabble of banished bond-men, withoute all order and pollicye, save onely *P. Mela.* theyr naturall and dailye exercyse in artillerye, was broughte to such thraldome and ruine.

After them the *Turkes*, having another name but yet the same people, borne in *Scythia*, brought uppe onely in artillerye, by the same weapon have subdued and bereft from the *Christen* men all *Asia* and *Affricke* (to speak upon) and the most noble countryes of *Europe*, to the greate demynishing of *Christes* Religion, to the greate reproache of cowardyse of all *Christianitye*, a manifest token of Gods high wrath and displeasure over the sinne of the worlde, but speciallye amonges *Christen* men, which be on slepe, made druncke with the fruites of the flesh, as infidelitye, disobedience to Gods word, and heresie, grudge, ill will, strife, open battaile, and privy envye, covetousnesse, oppression, unmercifulnesse, with innumerable sortes of unspeakable daily bawdrye: which thinges surely, if God holde not his holye hand over us, and plucke us from them, will bringe us to a more *Turkishnes*, and more beastelye blind barbarousnesse, as callinge ill thinges good, and good thinges ill. Contemnyng of knowledge and learninge, settinge at nought, and having for a fable, God and his hyghe providence, will bringe us, I say, to a more ungracious *Turkishnes*, if more *Turkishnes* can be than this, than if the *Turkes* had sworne to bryng all *Turkye* against us. For these fruites surely must needes sprynge of such feede, and such effect needes folow of such a cause, if reason, truth, and God be not altered, but as they are wont to be. For surely no *Turkishe*

Nota.

power can overthrow us, if *Turkische* lyfe do not caste us downe before. If God were with us, it buted not the *Turke* to be against us, but our unfaythfull sinneful livinge which is the *Turkes* mother, and hath brought him uppe hitherto, muste needes turne God from us, because sinne and he hath no felowshippe together. If we banished ill lyvinge oute of Christendome, I am sure the *Turke* should not onely not overcome us, but scarce have an hole to runne into in his owne countrie.

But Christendome now, I may tell you, *Philologe*, is much like a man that hath an itch on him, and lyeth dronke also in his bed, and though a theefe come to the dore, and heaveth at it, to come in and fleye him, yet he lyeth in his bedde, having more pleasure to lye in a slumber and scratch himselfe where it itcheth, even to the harde bone, than he hath redinesse to rise uppe lustely, and drive him away that would robbe him and fleye him. But, I trust, Christ will so lighten and lift uppe Christen mens eyes, that they shall not sleepe to death, nor that the *Turke*, Christs open enemy, shall ever boast that he hath quite overthrowen us.

Casp. de re-
bus Turc.

But, as I began to tell you, shootinge is the chiefe thinge where- with God suffereth the *Turke* to punishe our noughtye lyvinge withall: the youth there is broughte uppe in shootinge, his privy garde for his own persoune is bowmen, the might of theyr shootinge is well knowne of the *Spanyardes*, which at the town called *Newecastle*, in *Illyrica*, were quite slaine uppe, of the *Turkes* arrowes: when the *Spanyardes* had no use of theyr gunnes by reason of the raine. And now, last of all, the Emperours majestye himselfe, at the citie of *Argier* in *Affricke*, had his hoast fore handled with the *Turkes* arrowes, when his gunnes were quite dispatched, and stode him in no service because of the raine that fell, whereas in such a chaunce of raine, if he had had bowmen, surely theyr shotte mighte peradventure have bene a little hindered, but quite dispatched and marde it could never have bene. But, as for the *Turkes*, I am werye to talke of them, partlye because I hate them, and partlye because I am now affectioned even as it were a man that had bene longe wanderinge in straunge countries, and would fayne be at home to see how well his own frendes prosper and lead theyr lyfe. And surelye, me thincke, I am verye merye at my hart to remember
how

how I shall finde at home in *Englande*, amonges *Englishmen*, partely by historyes of them that have gone afore us, againe by experience of them which we knowe and live with us, as greate noble feates of warre by artillerye as ever was done at anye time in any other common wealthe. And here I must nedes remember a certaine *Frenchman*, called *Textor*, that writeth a booke which he nameth *Officina*, wherein he weaveth up many broken ended matters, and settes out much rifferaffe, pelfery, trumpery, baggage, and beggery ware, clamparde up of one that would seeme to be fitter for a shop indede than to wryte anye booke. And, amonges all other ill packed up matters, he thrustes uppe in a heepe together all the good shooters that ever hath bene in the worlde, as he sayth himselfe, and yet I trowe, *Philologe*, that all the examples which I now, by chaunce, have reherfed out of the best authors both in *Greke* and *Latine*, *Textor* hath but two of them, which two surelye, if they were to reckon againe, I would not ones name them, partlye because they were noughtye persons, and shootinge so muche the worse, because they loved it, as *Domitian* and *Commodus*, the Emperours: partlye because *Textor* hath them in his booke, on whom I looked by chaunce in the booke-binders shoppe, thinckinge of no such matter. And one thinge I will saye to you, *Philologe*, that if I were disposed to do it, and you had leysure to hear it, I could sone do as *Textor* doth, and reckon uppe such a rabble of shooters that be named here and there in poetes, as would hold us talkinge whiles to-morrow: but my purpose was not to make mention of those which were fayned of poetes for theyr pleasure, but of suche as were proved in historyes for a truthe. But why I bringe in *Textor* was this: at last, when he hath rekened all shooters that he can, he sayth thus, *Petrus Crinitus* P. Crin. 3. wryteth, that the *Scottes*, which dwell beyonde *Englande*, be very excellent shooters, and the best bowmen in warre. This sentence, whether *Crinitus* wrote it more leudlye of ignorance, or *Textor* confirmeth it more pivishlye of envye, maye be called in question and doubt, but this surelye do I knowe verye well, that *Textor* hath both redde in *Gaguinus* the *Frenche* historye, and also hath hearde his father or graunde father talke (excepte per chaunce he was born and bredde in a cloyster) after that sort of the shootinge of *Englishmen*, that *Textor* neded not to have gone so pivishlye beyonde *Englande* for shootinge, but might very soon, even into the first towne of *Kent*, have found such plentye of shootinge,

as

as is not in all the realme of *Scotlande* againe. The *Scottes* surelye be good men of warre in theyr owne feates as can be: but as for shootinge, they neyther can use it for any profite, nor yet will challenge it for any praise, althoughe Maister *Textor*, of his gentlenesse, would geve it them. *Textor* neded not to have filled up his booke with such
 John Maj. 6. lyes, if he had redde the historye of *Scotlande*, which *Johannes Major* doth wryte: wherein he might have learned, that when *James Stewart*, first Kinge of that name, at the parliamente holden at *Saint Johns* towne, or *Pertbie*, commaundinge under paine of great forfite, that everye *Scotte* should learne to shoote: yet neyther the love of theyr cuntrye, the feare of theyr enemyes, the avoydinge of punishment, nor the receyvinge of any profite that might come by it, could make them to be good archers: which be unapte and unfitte thereunto by Gods providence and nature.

Therefore the *Scottes* themselves prove *Textor* a lyer, both with auctoryte and also daily experience, and by a certaine proverbe that they have amonges theyr communication, whereby they geve the whole prayse of shootinge honestlye to *Englishmen*, sayinge thus: that *Every English archer beareth under his girdle twenty-four Scottes*.

John Major
 6. Hist. Scot. But to let *Textor* and the *Scottes* go, yet one thinge would I wishe for the *Scottes*, and that is this, that seeinge one God, one fayth, one compasse of the sea, one land and cuntrye, one tounge in speakinge, one maner and trade in lyvinge, like courage and stomache in warre, like quickenesse of witte to learninge, hath made *Englande* and *Scotlande* both one, they would suffer them no longer to be two: but cleane geve over the *Pope*, which seeketh none other thinge (as manye a noble and wyse *Scottishe* man doth knowe) but to fede uppe dissention and parties betwixte them and us, procuringe that thinge to be two, which God, nature, and reason would have one.

How profitable such an * attonement were for *Scotlande*, both *Johannes Major* and *Hector Boetius*, which wrote the *Scottes* chronicles, do tell, and also all the gentlemen of *Scotlande*, with the poore communaltye, do well knowe: so that there is nothinge that stoppeth this matter, save

* *Attonement* is *Union*, or the act of setting at one:

only a few fryers, and such like, which, with the dregges of our *Englishe* Papistrye lurking amonges them, studye nothing els but to brewe battaile and strife betwixt both the people: whereby onely they hope to maintaine theyr papisticall kingdome, to the destruction of the noble bloude of *Scotlande*, that then they maye with authoritye do that, which neyther noble man nor poor man in *Scotlande* yet doth know. And as for *Scottishe* men and *Englishe* men be not ennemyes by nature, but by custome; not by our good will, but by theyr own follye: which should take more honour in being copled to *Englande*, than we should take profite in beinge joyned to *Scotlande*.

Wales beinge headye and rebelling many yeares against us, laye wilde, untylled, uninhabited, without lawe, justice, civilitye and order; and then was amonges them more stealinge than true dealinge, more suretye for them that studyed to be nought, than quietnesse for them that laboured to be good: when nowe, thancked be God and noble *Englande*, there is no cuntrye better inhabited, more civile, more diligent in honest craftes, to get both true and plentifull livinge withall. And this felicitye (my minde geveth me) should have chaunced also to *Scotlande*, by the godlye wysedome of the most noble Prince Kinge *Henrye* the VIII. by whom God wrought more wonderfull thinges than ever by anye Prince before: as banishinge the bishoppe of *Rome* and heresy, bringinge to light Gods word and veritye, establisshinge such justice and equitye throughe everye part of this realme, as never was seene afore.

But *Textor* (I beshrowe him) hath almost brought us from our communication of shootinge. Now Sir, by my judgemente, the artillerye of *Englande* farre exceedeth all other realmes: but yet one thinge I doubt, and long have surely in that point doubted, when, or by whom, shootinge was first brought into *Englande*; and, for the same purpose, as I was once in companye with Sir *Thomas Eliot* knight, which surely for his learninge in all kinde of knowledge, brought muche worshippe to all the nobilitye of *Englande*, I was so bould to aske him, if he at any time had marked any thinge, as concerninge the bringinge in of shootinge into *Englande*: he aunswered me gentlye againe, he had a worke in hand, which he nameth, *De rebus memorabilibus Angliæ*, which

I trust we shall see in print shortlye, and, for the accomplishment of that booke, he had redde and perused over manye ould monuments of *Englande*, and, in seeking for that purpose, he marked this of shootinge in an excedinge olde chronicle, the which had no name, that what time as the *Saxons* came first into this realme, in kinge *Vortigers* dayes, when they had bene here a while, and at last began to faule out with the *Britaynes*, they troubled and subdued the *Britaynes* with nothings so much as with theyr bowe and shaftes, which weapon beinge straunge and not seene here before, was wonderfull terrible unto them, and this beginninge I can thincke verie well to be true. But now as concerninge many examples for the prayse of *Englishe* archers in warre, surelye I will not be longe in a matter that no man doubteth in, and those fewe that I will name, shall eyther be proved by the historyes of our enemyes, or els done by men that now live.

King *Edward* the third, at the battaile of *Cressie*, against *Philip* the *French* King, as *Gaguinus*, the *French* historiographer, plainly doth tell, flewe that daye all the nobilitye of *Fraunce* onlye with his archers.

Such like battaile also fought the noble black Prince *Edward* beside *Poitiers*, where *John* the *French* Kinge, with his sonne, and in a manner all the peres of *Fraunce* were taken, besides thirty thousand which that daye were slaine, and very few *Englishe* men, by reason of theyr bowes.

Kinge *Henry* the fifte, a Prince perelesse and most victorious conquerour of all that ever dyed yet in this parte of the worlde, at the battle of *Agincourt*, with seven thousand fightinge men, and yet manye of them sicke, beinge suche archers, as the chronicle sayth, that most parte of them drewe a yarde, flewe all the chevalrye of *Fraunce*, to the number of forty thousand and mo, and lost not past twenty-six *Englishmen*.

The bloudye civill warre of *Englande* betwixte the house of *Yorke* and *Lancaster*, where shaftes flewe of both sydes to the destruction of manye a yoman of *Englande*, whom foreine battell could never have subdued, both I will passe over for the pytifulnesse of it, and yet maye

we highlye prayse God in the remembraunce of it, seinge he, of his providence, hath so knitte together those two noble houses, with so noble and pleasaunte a flowre.

The excellent Prince *Thomas Howarde* Duke of *Norfolke*, with bowemen of *Englande*, slewe Kinge *Jamy* with manye a noble *Scotte*, even brant against *Floden* hill, in which battell the stout archers of *Cheffshyre* and *Lancashyre*, for one daye bestowed to the death for theyr Prince and countrie sake, hath gotten immortall name and prayse for ever.

The feare onelye of *Englishe* archers hath done more wonderfull thinges than ever I redde in anye historye, *Greke* or *Latine*, and most wonderfull of all now of late, besyde *Carlisle*, betwixt *Eske* and *Leven*, at *Sandysikes*, where the whole nobilitye of *Scotlande*, for feare of the archers of *Englande*, (next the stroke of God) as both *Englishe* and *Scottishe* men that were present hath tolde me, were drowned and taken prisioners.

Nor that noble acte also, which althoughe it be almost lost by time, cometh not behinde in worthinesse, which my singular good frende and maister *Sir William Walgrave*, and *Sir George Somerset* did, with a fewe archers, to the number, as it is sayd, of sixteen, at the turnpike besyde *Hammes*, where they turned with so fewe archers so manye *Frenchmen* to flight, and turned so manye out of theyr *jackes, which turne turned all *Fraunce* to shame and reproach; and those two noble knights to perpetuall prayse and fame.

And thus you see, *Philologe*, in all countryes, *Asia*, *Affricke*, and *Europe*, in *Inde*, *Ethiop.* *Egypt*, and *Jurie*, *Parthia*, *Persia*, *Grece* and *Italye*, *Scythia*, *Turkye*, and *Englande*, from the beginninge of the world even to this daye, that shootinge hath had the chiefe stroke in warre.

PHI. These examples surelye apte for the prayse of shootinge, not fayned by poetes, but proved by true historyes, distinct by time and order, hath delited me exceeding much, but yet methinke that all this prayse belongeth to stronge shootinge and drawinge of mightye bowes, not to prickinge and nere shootinge, for which cause you and many other doth love and use shootinge. Tox. Evermore, *Philologe*, you will have some overthwarte reason to drawe

* A Jack is a coat of mail.

forth more communication withal, but, neverthelesse, you shall perceyve if you will, that use of prickinge, and desire of nere shootinge at home, are the onely causes of stronge shootinge in warre, and why? For you see that the stronge men do not draw alwayes the strongest shote, which thinge proveth that drawinge stronge lyeth not so much in the strengthe of man, as in the use of shootinge. And experience teacheth the same in other thinges, for you shall see a weake smithe, which will with a * lipe and turninge of his arme, take uppe a barre of yron, that another man, thrise as stronge, cannot stirre. And a stronge man not used to shoote, hath his armes, breast and shoulders, and other parts wherewith he should drawe stronglye, one hinderinge and stoppinge another, even as a dozen stronge horses not used to the cart, lettes and troubles one another. And so the more stronge man not used to shoote, shootes most unhanfumllye, but yet if a strong man with use of shootinge coulde apply all the partes of his bodye together, to theyr moste strength, then should he both drawe stronger than other, and also shoote better than other. But nowe a stronge man not used to shoote, at a girde, can heve up and plucke in funder many a good bowe, as wilde horses at a brunt doth race and plucke in pieces many a stronge carte. And thus stronge men, without use, can do nothinge in shootinge to any purpose, neyther in warre nor peace, but if they happen to shoote, yet they have done within a shote or two, when a weake man that is used to shoote, shall serve for all times and purposes, and shall shoote ten shaftes against the others four, and drawe them uppe to the pointe every time, and shoote them to the most advantage, drawinge and withdrawinge his shafte when he list, marking at one man, yet letdryvinge at an other man: which thinges, in a set battaile, althoughe a man shall not alwayes use, yet in bickeringes, and at overthwart meetinges, when few archers be together, they do most good of all.

Againe, he that is not used to shoote, shall evermore with untowardnesse of houldinge his bowe, and nockinge his shafte, not lokinge to his stringe betime, put his bowe alwayes in jeopardye of breakinge, and then he were better to be at home, moreover he shall shoote very few

* The word *Lipe* I never saw, and know not whether I understand it; if it be the same as *leap*, it may mean a jerk or sudden motion.

shaftes,

shaftes, and those full unhandsumly, some not halfe drawen, some to high and some to low, nor he cannot drive a shote at a time, nor stoppe a shote at a nede, but out must it, and very oft to evill profe.

PHI. And that is best, I trowe, in warre, to let it go, and not to stoppe it. Tox. No not so, but some time to hould a shaft at

the head, which, if they be but few archers, doth more good with the fear of it, than it should do if it were shotte with the stroke of it.

PHI. That is a wonder to me, that the fear of a displeasure should do more harme than the displeasure itselfe.

Tox. Yes, ye knowe that a man which feareth to be banished oute of his countrie, can neyther be merye, eate, drincke, nor sleepe for feare; yet when he is banished in dede, he sleepeth and eateth as well as any other. And many men, doubtinge and fearinge whether they should dye or no, even for very fear of death, preventeth themselfe with a more bitter death, than the other death should have bene indede. And thus fear is worse than the thing feared, as is pretelye proved by the communication of *Cyrus* and *Tigranes*, the Kinges sonne of *Armenie*, in *Ze-Cyroped. 3. nophon.*

PHI. I graunt, *Toxophile*, that use of shootinge maketh a man drawe stronge, to shoote at most advantage, to kepe his gere, which is no small thinge in warre; but yet methinke that the customable shootinge at home, speciallye at buttes and prickes, make nothinge at all for stronge shootinge, which doth most good in warre. Therefore, I suppose, if men should use to go into the fieldes, and learne to shoote mightye stronge shotes, and never care for anye mark at all, they should do much better.

Tox. The truthe is, that fashon much used would do much good, but this is to be feared, least that waye could not provoke men to use much shootinge, because there should be litle pleasure in it. And that in shooting is beste, that provoketh a man to use shooting most: for much use maketh men shoote both stronge and well, which two thinges in shooting every man doth desyre. And the chiefe maintayner of use in anye thinge is comparison and honest contention. For when a man stryveth to be better than an other, he will gladlye use that thinge, though it be never so painful, wherein he would excell, which thinge *Aristotle* very pretelye doth note, sayinge,

Q 2

" Where

“ Where is comparifon, there is victorie; where is victorie there is
 Arift. Rhet. “ pleafure: and where is pleafure, no man careth what labour or paine
 “ he taketh, becaufe of the prayfe and pleafure that he fhall have in
 “ doing better than other men.”

Agayne, you knowe, *Hefiodus* writeth to his brother *Perfes*, “ that
 Hefiod. in “ all craftfemen, by contendinge one honeftlye with another, do en-
 Op. et die. “ creafe theyr cunninge with theyr fubftance.” And therefore in *Lon-*
don, and other great cityes, men of one crafte, moft commonlye, dwell
 together, becaufe in honeft ftrivinge together, who fhall do beft, everye
 one maye waxe both cunninger and rycher. So likewyfe in fhootinge,
 to make matches to affemble archers together, to contend who fhall
 fhoot beft, and winne the game, encreafeth the ufe of fhootinge
 wonderfullye amonges men. PHI. Of ufe you fpeake verye muche,
Toxophile, but I am fure in all other matters ufe can do nothinge, with-
 oute two other thinges be joyned with it, one is a naturall aptneffe to
 a thinge, the other is a true waye or knowledge, howe to do the
 thinge, to which two if ufe be joyned as thirde felowe of them three,
 procedeth perfectneffe and excellencye: if a man lacke the firft two,
 aptneffe and cunninge, ufe can do litle good at all.

For he that would be an oratour, and is nothinge naturallye fitte for
 it, that is to faye, lacketh a good witte and memorye, lacketh a good
 voyce, countenaunce and bodye, and other fuch like, yea, if he had
 all thefe, and knowe not what, howe, where, when, nor to whom he
 fhoulde fpeake, furely the ufe of fpeakinge would bringe oute none
 other fruite but plain follye and bablinge, fo that ufe is the laft and
 the leaft neceffarye of all three, yet nothinge can be done excellentlye
 withoute them all three; and therefore, *Toxophile*, I myfelfe, becaufe
 I never knewe whether I was apte for fhootinge or no, nor never knewe
 waye howe I fhould learne to fhoot, I have not ufed to fhoot: and
 fo, I thincke, five hundred more in *Englande* do befide me. And
 furelye, if I knewe that I were apte, and that you would teache me
 how to fhoot, I would become an archer, and the rather becaufe of
 the good communication, the which I have had with you this daye
 of fhootinge. Tox. Aptneffe, knowledge, and ufe, even as you
 fay, make all thinges perfecte. Aptneffe is the firft and chiefeft thing,
 withoute

without which the other two do no good at all. Knowledge doth encrease all manner of aptnesse both lesse and more. Use, sayth *Cicero*, is farre above all teaching. And thus they all three must be had, to do any thing very well, and if any one be away, whatsoever is done, is done very meanelye. Aptnesse is the gift of nature, knowledge is gotten by the helpe of other; use lyeth in our owne diligence and labour; so that aptnesse and use be ours and within us, through nature and labour; knowledge not ours, but comminge by other: and therefore most diligently of all men to be sought for. Howe these three thinges stande with the artillerye of *Englande*, a word or two I will say.

All *Englishe* men, generally, be apt for shootinge, and howe? Lyke as that ground is plentiful and fruitful, which, without any tilling, bringeth out corne; as, for example, if a man shoulde goe to the mill or market with corne, and happen to spill some in the waye, yet it would take roote and growe, because the soyle is so good; so *Englande* may be thought very fruitful, and apte to bringe out shooters, where children, even from the cradle love it, and yonge men, without any teaching, so diligently use it. Again, likewise, as a good ground, well tyllled and well husbanded, bringeth out great plenty of byg eared corne, and good to the faule: so if the youthe of *Englande*, beinge apte of it selfe to shoote, were taught and learned howe to shoote, the archers of *Englande* should not be onely a great deale ranker, and mo than they be; but also a good deale bigger and stronger archers than they be. This commodity should folowe also, if the youthe of *Englande* were taughte to shoote, that even as plowing of a good ground for wheate, doth not only make it meete for the feede, but also ryveth and plucketh up by the rootes all thistles, brambles and weeds, which growe of their own accorde, to the destruction of both corne and ground: Even so should the teachinge of youthe to shoote, not only make them shoote well, but also plucke away by the rootes all other desyre to noughtye pastimes, as dysinge, cardinge, and boulinge, which, without any teaching, are used every where, to the great harme of all youth of this realme. And likewise, as burning of thistles, and diligente weeding them out of the corne, doth not halfe so much rydde them, as when the ground is falloed and tilled for good grayne, as I have heard many a good husbandman faye: even so, neither hote punishment, nor yet diligent

diligent searching out of such unthriftnesse by the officers, shall so thorowly weede these ungratious games out of the realme, as occupying and bringing up youth in shootinge, and other honest pastime. Thirdly, as a ground which is apt for corne, and also well tilled for corne; yet if a man let it lye still, and do not occupy it three or four yeare; but then will sowe it, if it be wheat, sayth *Columella*, it will turn into rye: so if a man be never so apt to shoote, nor never so well taughte in his youth to shoote, yet if he geve it over, and not use to shoote, truly when he shall be eyther compelled in warre time for his countrys sake, or else provoked at home for his pleasure sake, to faule to his bowe: he shall become of a fayre archer, a starke squyrter and dribber. Therefore in shootinge, as in all other things, there can neither be many in number, nor excellent in deede, excepte these three things, aptnesse, knowledge, and use, go together.

PHI. Very well sayd, *Toxophile*, and I promise you, I agree to this judgement of yours together, and therefore I cannot little marveile, why *Englishe* men bringe no more helpe to shootinge, than nature itselfe geveth them. For you see that even children be put to their own shiftes in shootinge, havinge nothinge taughte them: but that they may choose, and chaunce to shoot ill, rather then well, unaptlye soner then fitlye, untowardlye more easely then well favoredly, which thinge causeth many never begin to shoote, and mo to leave it off when they have begun: and most of all to shoote both worse and weaker than they might shoote, if they were taught.

But peradventure some men will say, that with use of shootinge a man shall learn to shoote; true it is, he shall learne, but what shall he learne? Mary to shoote noughtlie. For all use, in all things, if it be not stayed by cunning, will very easely bring a man to do that thing, whatsoever he goeth about, with much ilfavorednesse and deformitye. Which thinge how much harme it doth in learninge, both *Crassus* excellently doth prove in *Tully*, and I myselfe have experience in my litle shootinge. And therefore, *Toxophile*, you must needes graunt me, that eyther *Englishe* men do ill, in not joyning knowledge of shootinge to use, or els there is no knowledge or cunning which can be gathered of shootinge.

Tox.

Tox. Learning to shoote is little regarded in *Englande*, for this consideration, because men be so apte by nature they have a greate ready forwardnesse and will to use it, although no man teache them, although no man bidde them, and so of their own courage they runne hedlynge on it, and shoote they ill, shoote they well, great heede they take not. And, in verye deede, aptnesse with use may do somewhat without knowledge, but not the tenthe parte, if so be they were joyned with knowledge. Which three thinges be separate as you see, not of their owne kinde, but through the negligence of men which coupled them not together. And where ye doubt, whether there can be gathered any knowledge or arte in shootinge or no, surelye I thincke that a man, being well exercised in it, and somewhat honestlye learned withall, might soone, with diligent observing and marking the whole nature of shooting, find out, as it were, an art of it, as artes in other matters have bene founde out afore, seeing that shootinge standeth by those thinges, which may both be thorowlye perceyved, and perfectly knowen, and such that never fails, but be ever certaine, belonging to one most perfect ende, as shooting straight and keeping of a lengthe bringe a man to hitte the marke, the chiefe ende in shootinge, which two thinges a man maye attaine unto, by dyligente usinge and well handeling those instruments which belonge unto them. Therefore I cannot see, but there lyeth hidde in the nature of shootinge an arte, which, by noting and observing of them that is exercised in it, if he be any thing learned at all, may be taught, to the great furtheraunce of artillerye throughe oute all this realme: and truely I marveile greatlye, that *Englishe* men woulde never yet seeke for the arte of shootinge, seeinge they be so apt unto it, so praysed of their friendes, so feared of their enemies for it. *Vegetius* would have maisters appointed, which should teache youthe to shoote fayre. *Leo* the Emperour of *Rome* sheweth the same custome to have been alwayes amongest the olde *Romaines*: which custome of teachinge youth to shoote, (sayth he) after it was omitted and litle hede taken of, brought the whole empyre of *Rome* to greate ruine. *Schola Persica*, that is, the schole of the *Persians*, appointed to bringe up youth, whiles they were twenty yeare olde, only in shootinge, is as notably knowne in historyes as the empyre of the *Persians*: which schole, as doth appear in *Cornelius Tacitus*, as sone as they gave over

Vegetius.
Leo. 6. 5.
Strabo. 11.
Cor. Tac. 2.
 and

and fell to other idle pastimes, broughte both them and the *Parthians* under the subjection of the *Romaines*. *Plato* would have common *maisters and stipendes*, for to teache youthe to shoote, and, for the same purpose, he would have a broad fielde neare everye citie, made common for men to use shootinge in. Whiche sayinge, the more reasonablye it is spoken of *Plato* the more unreasonable is their deede, which would ditche up those fieldes privatelye for their own profite, which lyeth open generallye for the common use: men by such goods be made richer, not honester, sayth *Tullye*. If men be perswaded to have shootinge taughte, this authoritye which foloweth will perswade them, or else none, and that is, as I have ones sayde before, of King *David*, whose first acte and ordinance was, after he was Kinge, that all *Judea* should learne to shoote. If shootinge coulde speake, she woulde accuse *Englande* of unkindnesse and slothfulnesse; of unkindnesse toward her, because she beinge left to a little blind use, lackes her best maintainer which is cunninge: of slothfulnesse toward their owne selfe, because they are content with that which aptnesse and use doth graunt them in shootinge, and will seek for no knowledge as other noble common wealthes have done: and the justlier shooting might make this complaint, seeinge that of fence and weapons there is made an arte, a thinge in no wyse to be compared to shootinge. For of fence, almost in everye towne, there is not onely maisters to teach it, with his provosts, ushers, scholers, and other names of arte and schole, but there hath not fayled also, which hath diligently and * favouredlye written it, and is set out in printe, that everye man maye reade it.

What discommoditye doth come by the lacke of knowledge, in shootinge, it were over long to rehearse. For manye that have been apte, and loved shootinge, because they knewe not whiche waye to houlde to come to shootinge, have cleane turned themselves from shootinge. And I maye tell you, *Philologe*, the lacke of teachinge to shoote in *Englande* causeth very many men to play with the Kinges actes, as a man did ones, eyther with the Mayor of *London* or *York*, I cannot tell whether, which did commaund by proclamation, every man in the citie to hange a lanterne, with a candell, afore his dore: which thinge the man did, but

* Favouredly is, I suppose, *plausibly*.

he did not light it; and so many bye bowes, because of the * acte, but yet they shoote not, not of evil will, but because they knowe not howe to shoote. But, to conclude of this matter, in shootinge as in all other thinges, aptnesse is the first and chiefe thinge, which if it be awaye, Aptnesse. neyther cunninge nor use doth any good at all, as the *Scottes* and *Frenchmen*, with knowledge and use of shootinge, shall become good archers, when a cunninge ship-wright shall make a strong shippe of a fallowe tree; or when a husbandman shall become riche, with sowing wheat on *Newmarket* heath. Cunninge must be had, both to set out and amend nature, and also to oversee and correct use, which use, if it be not led, and governed with cunning, shall soner go amisse, than straight. Use maketh perfitnesse in doing that thinge, whereunto nature maketh a man apt, and knowledge maketh a man cunninge before. So that it is not so doubtful, which of them three hath most stroke in shootinge, as it is plaine and evidente, that all three must be had in excellent shootinge. PHI. For this communication, *Toxophile*, I am very glad, and that for mine own sake, because I trust now to become a shooter. And indede I thought afore, *Englishe* men most apt for shootinge, and I saw them daile use shootinge, but yet I never found none, that would talke of anye knowledge whereby a man might come to shootinge. Therefore I trust that you, by the use you have had in shootinge, have so thorowly marked and noted the nature of it, that you can teache me, as it were by a trade or way, how to come to it. Tox. I graunt I have used shootinge metelye well: that I might have marked it well enough, if I had bene diligent. But my much shootinge hath caused me studye litle, so that thereby I lacke learninge, which should set out the art or waye in anye thinge. And you know that I was never so well seene, in the *Posteriorums* of *Aristotle*, as to invent and searce out general demonstrations, for the settinge forth of any new science. Yet, by my trouth, if you will, I will go with you into the fieldes at any time, and tell you as much as I can, or els you maye stande some time at the prickes and loke on them which shoote best, and so learne. PHI. Howe litle you have looked of *Aristotle*, and howe much learninge you have lost by shootinge, I cannot tell, but this I would saye, and if I loved you never so ill, that you have been occupied in some what els besyde shootinge. But, to our purpose, as I will not require a trade in shootinge to be taught me after the subtiltye of *Aristotle*, even so do I not agree with you in this point, that you would

* The statute.

have me learne to shoote with lookinge on them which shoote best, for so I know I should never come to shoote metelye; for in shootinge, as in all other thinges which be gotten by teachinge, there must be shewed a way, and a path, which shall leade a man to the best and chiefeſt point which is in shootinge, which you do mark yourſelfe well enough, and uttered it alſo in your communication, when you ſayd there lay hid in the nature of shootinge a certaine waye which, well perceyved and thoroughlye known, would bring a man, without any wanderinge, to the beſt ende in shootinge, which you called hittinge of the pricke. Therefore I would refer all my shootinge to that ende which is beſt, and ſo ſhould I come the ſoner to ſome meane. That which is beſt hath no faulte, nor cannot be amended. So ſhewe me beſte shootinge, not the beſte ſhooter, which if he be never ſo good, yet hath he many a faulte, eaſilye of any man to be eſpyed. And therefore marveile not if I requyre to folowe that example which is without faulte, rather than that which hath ſo manye faultes. And this way everye wyſe man doth folowe in teachinge any maner of thinge. As *Aristotle*, when he teacheth a man to be good, he ſettes not before him *Socrates* lyfe, which was the beſt man, but chief goodneſs itſelfe; according to which he would have a man direct his life. *Tox.* This way which you requyre of me, *Philologe*, is to harde for me, and to hye for a ſhooter to taulke on, and taken, as I ſuppoſe, out of the middeſt of *Philophie*, to ſearche out the perſite ende of any thinge, the which perſite ende to finde out, *Orat. ad Bru.* ſayth *Tullye*, is the hardeſt thinge in the world, the onlye occaſion and cauſe why ſo many ſectes of *Philophers* hath bene alwayes in learninge. And although, as *Cicero* ſayth, a man maye imagine and dreame in his minde of a perfect ende in any thinge, yet there is no experience nor uſe of it, nor was never ſeene yet amonges men; as alwayes to heale the ſicke, evermore to leade a ſhippe without daunger, at all times to hit the * pricke, ſhall no phisitian, no ſhip-maiſters, no ſhooter ever do; *Arist. Pol.* and *Aristotle* ſayth, that in all deedes there are two points to be marked, 8. 6. poſſibilitye and excellencye, but chieflye a wyſe man muſt folowe, and laye hande on poſſibilitye, for feare he loſe both. Therefore, ſeeinge that which is moſt perfect and beſt in shootinge, as alwayes to hit the pricke, was never ſeene nor hard tell on yet amonges men, but onlye imagined and thought upon in a mans minde, me thincke this is the wyſeſt counſell, and beſt for us to folowe rather than that which a man

* The *prick*, at other times called the *white*, is the white ſpot or *point* in the midſt of the mark.

may come to, than that which is impossible to be attained to, lest justly that sayinge of the wyfe *Ismene* in *Sophocles* maye be verified on us.

A fcole is he that takes in hande he cannot ende.

Soph. Ant.

PHI. Well, if the perfite ende of other matters had bene as perfitelie knowne, as the perfite ende of shootinge is, there had never bene so many sects of *Philosophers* as there be, for in shootinge both man and boy is of one opinion, that alwayes to hit the pricke is the most perfite ende that can be imagined, so that we shall not neede greatly contende in this matter. But nowe, Sir, whereas you thincke that a man in learninge to shoote, or any thinge els, should rather wyfelye folowe possibilitye, than vainly seke for perfite excellencye, surelye I will prove that everye wyse man, that wyfely would learne any thinge, shall chieflye go about that whereunto he knoweth well he shall never come. And you yourselfe, I suppose, shall confesse the same to be the best way in teaching, if you will aunswer me to those thinges which I will aske of you. Tox. And that I will gladlye, both because I thincke it is impossible for you to prove it, and also because I desire to heare what you can say in it.

PHI. The studye of a good phisitian, *Toxophile*, I trowe be to knowe all diseases and all medycines fit for them. * Tox. It is so indeed.

PHI. Because, I suppose, he would gladly, at all times, heale all diseases of all men. Tox. Yea, trulye.

PHI. A good purpose surelye, but was there ever phisition yet amonge so manye which hath laboured in this studye, that at all times could heale all diseases?

Tox. No truly, nor, I thincke, never shall be.

PHI. Then phisitions belike, study for that, which none of them commeth unto. But in learning of fence, I pray you what is that which men most labour for?

Tox. That they may hit another, I trowe, and never take blow their selfe.

PHI. You say trothe, and I am sure every one of them would fayne do so whensoever he playeth. But was there ever any of them so cunninge yet, which, at one time or other, hath not been touched?

Tox. The best of them all is glad sometimes to escape with a blowe.

PHI. Then in fence also, men are taught to go about that thinge, which the best of them all knoweth he shall never attaine unto. Moreover you that

* Here is an example of the *Socratic* method of disputation, which, by repeated interrogations, confutes the opponent out of his own answers.

THE WORKS OF

be shooters, I praye you, what meane you, when ye take so great heede to kepe your standinge, to shoote compasse, to loke on your marke so diligently, to cast uppe grasse divers times, and other thinges more you know better than I. What would you do then, I praye you?

Tox. Hit the marke if we could.

PHI. And doth every man go

about to hit the marke at every shote?

Tox. By my trothe I

trowe so, and, as for myselfe, I am sure I do.

PHI. But all men

do not hit it all times?

Tox. No, trulye, for that were a won-

der.

PHI. Can any man hit it at all times?

Tox. No man trulye.

PHI. Then bylikely to hit the pricke alwayes is impossible. For that is called impossible which is in no mans power to do.

Tox. Un-

possible indede.

PHI. But to shoote wide and farre of the marke

is a thinge possible.

Tox. No man will denye that.

PHI. But

yet to hit the marke alwayes were an excellent thinge.

Tox. Excellent surely.

PHI. Then I am sure those be wyser men

which covet to shoot wyde, than those which covet to hit the pricke.

Tox. Why so, I praye you?

PHI. Because to shoote

wyde is a thinge possible, and therefore, as you saye yourselfe, of every wyse man to be folowed. And as for hittinge the pricke, because it is impossible, it were a vain thinge to go about it in good *sadnesse, *Toxophile*; thus you see that a man mighte go through all craftes and sciences, and prove that any man in his science coveteth that which he shall never get.

Tox. By my trothe (as you say) I cannot denye but they do so: but why and wherefore they should do so, I cannot learne.

PHI. I will tell you. Everye crafte and science standeth in two thinges: in knowinge of his crafte, and workinge of his crafte: for perfect knowledge bringeth a man to perfect workinge: This know painters, carvers, taylors, shomakers, and all other craftsmen, to be true. Now, in every crafte there is a perfect excellencye, which may be better known in a mans minde, than followed in a mans dede. This perfectnesse, because it is generally layed as a brode wyde example afore all men, no one particular man is able to compasse it: and, as it is general to all men, so it is perpetual for all time, which proveth it a thinge for man impossible: although not for the capacitye of our thinckinge, which is heavenly, yet surely for the habilitye of our workinge, which
De Inven. 2. is worldly. God geveth not full perfectnesse to one man (sayth *Tullye*).
left if one man had all in any one science, there should be nothinge left for

* *Sadnesse* is *seriousness*, or *earnest*.

another. Yet God suffereth us to have the perfect knowledge of it, that such a knowledge, diligently folowed, might bringe forth the accordinge as a man doth laboure, perfect workinge. And who is he, that, in learninge to wryte, would forsake an excellent example, and followe a worse? Therefore, seinge perfectnesse it selfe is an example for us, let every man studye how he may come nye it, which is a point of wyse-dome, not reason with God why he may not attaine unto it, which is vaine curiosity.

Tox. Surelye this is gaily faide, *Philologe*, but yet this one thinge I am afraid of, least this perfectnesse which you speake on will discourage men to take any thinge in hand, because, afore they begin, they know they shall never come to an end. And thus dispayre shall dispatch, even at the first entring it, many a good man his purpose and intent. And I think both you your selfe, and all other men to, would counte it mere follye for a man to tell him whom he teacheth, that he shall never obtain that which he would faynest learne. And therefore this same highe and perfect way of teachinge let us leave it to higher matters, and, as for shootinge, it shall be contented with a meaner way well enough. PHI. Whereas you saye that this hye perfectnesse will discourage men, because they knowe they shall never attaine unto it, I am sure, cleane contrarye, there is nothing in the worlde shall encourage men more than it. And why? For where a man seeth, that though another man be never so excellent, yet it is possible for himselfe to be better, what payne or labour will that man refuse to take? If the game be once wonne, no man will set forth his foote to runne. And thus perfectnesse beinge so highe a thinge that men may looke at it, not come to it, and beinge so plentifull and indifferent to every body, that the plentifulnesse of it may provoke all men to labour, because it hath enough for all men, the indifferencye of it shall encourage every one to take more payne than his fellow, because every man is rewarded accordinge to his nye comminge, and yet, which is most marveile of all, the more men take of it, the more they leave behinde for other, as *Socrates* did in wysedom, and *Cicero* in eloquence, whereby other hath not lacked, but hath fared a great deale the better. And thus perfectnesse it selfe, because it is never obtained, even therefore onelye dothe it cause so manye men to be well seene and perfect in many matters, as they be. But whereas you thincke that it were fondnesse to teache a man to shoote, in lookinge at the most perfectnesse
in

in it, but rather would have a man go some other waye to worke, I trust no wyse man will discommend that waye, excepte he thincke himselfe wyser than *Tullye*, which doth plainlye saye, That, if he teach-ed anye maner of crafte, as he did Rhetoricke, he would labour to
 De Orat. 3. bringe a man to the knowledge of the most perfectnesse of it, which knowledge should evermore leade and guide a man to do that thinge well which he went about. Which waye in all maner of learninge to be best, *Plato* doth also declare in *Euthydemus*, of whom *Tullye* learned it, as he did many other thinges mo. And thus you see, *Toxophile*, by what reasons, and by whose authority I do require of you this way in teachinge me to shoote; which waye, I praye you, without any delaye, shewe me as farre forth as you have noted and marked. Tox. You call me to a thinge, *Philologe*, which I am loth to do, and yet, if I do it not, beinge but a small matter as you thincke, you will lacke friendship in me; if I take it in hande, and not bringe it to passe as you would have it, you might thincke greate want of wysedome in me.

But I advyse you, seeing you will needes have it so, the blame shall be yours, as well as myne: yours for puttinge uppon me so * instantly; myne for receyvinge so fondlye a greater burthen than I am able to bear. Therefore I, more willinge to fulfil your minde than hopinge to accom-plishe that which you loke for, shall speake of it, not as a maister of shootinge, but as one not altogether ignorant in shootinge. And one thing I am glad of, the sunne drawinge down so fast into the West shall compell me to drawe apace to the ende of our matter, so that his darknesse shall something cloke myne ignoraunce.

And because you knowe the orderinge of a matter better than I, aske me generallye of it, and I shall particularly answere to it. PHI. Very gladly, *Toxophile*: for so by order those thinges which I would know, you shall tell the better; and those thinges which you shall tell, I shall remember the better.

* So importunately.

The End of the First Booke of the Schole of Shootinge.

T O X O P H I L U S.

B.

The SECONDE BOOKE of the SCHOLE of SHOOTINGE.

TOXOPHILUS. PHILOLOGUS.

PHI. **W**HAT is the chiefe pointe in shootinge, that every man laboureth to come to? Tox. To hit the marke.

PHI. How manye thinges are required to make a man evermore hit the marke? Tox. Two. PHI. Which two? Tox. Shoot-

inge streighte, and kepinge of a lengthe. PHI. How should a man shoote streight, and how should a man keep a lengthe?

Tox. In knowinge and havinge thinges belonging to shootinge; and when they be known and had in well handlinge of them; whereof some belonge to shootinge streight, some to kepinge of a lengthe, some commonlye to them both, as shall be tolde severallye of them in place convenient.

PHI. Thinges belonginge to shootinge, which be they?

Tox. * All thinges be outwarde; and some be instrumentes for every † fere archer to bringe with him, proper for his owne use: other thinges be general to every man, as the place and time serveth. PHI. Which be instrumentes? Tox. Bracer, shootinge glove, stringe, bowe,

* The instruments of shooting are *external*.

† *Sere* is several or particular.

and

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and shafte.

PHI. Which be general to all men?

Tox. The

weather and the marke, yet the marke is ever under the rule of the weather.

PHI. Wherein standeth well handlinge of thinges?

Tox. Alltogether within a man himfelfe, some handlinge is proper to instrumentes, some to the wether, some to the marke, some is within a man himfelfe.

PHI. What handlinge is proper to the instrumentes?

Tox. Standinge, nocking, drawinge, holdinge, lowfinge, whereby commeth fayre shootinge, which neyther belonge to winde nor wether, nor yet to the marke, for in a raine and at no marke, a man may shoote a fayre shote.

PHI. Well sayd, what

handlinge belongeth to the wether?

Tox. Knowinge of his winde,

with him, against him, fyde winde, full fyde winde, fyde winde quarter with him, fyde winde quarter against him, and so forthe.

PHI. Well then go to, what handlinge belongeth to the marke?

Tox. To marke his standinge, to shoote compasse, to drawe evermore like, to louse evermore like, to consider the nature of the pricke, in hilles and dales, in straye plaines and windinge places, and also to espye his marke.

PHI. Very well done. And what is only within a man himfelfe?

Tox. Good heede gevinge, and avoydinge all affections: which thinges oftentimes do marre and make all. And these thinges spoken of me generally and briefely, if they be well knowen, had, and handled, shall bringe a man to suche shootinge, as fewe or none ever yet came unto, but surely if he misse in anye one of them, he can never hitte the marke, and in the more he doth misse, the farther he shooteth from his marke. But, as in all other matters, the first steppe or stayre to be good, is to knowe a mans faulte, and then to amende it, and he that will not knowe his faulte, shall never amende it.

PHI. You speake now, *Toxophile*, even as I woulde have you to speake; but let us returne againe unto our matter, and those thinges which you have packed up in so short a rume, we will louse them forth, and take every piece, as it were, in our hande, and loke more narrowlye upon it.

Tox. I am content, but we will rydde them as fast as we can, because the funne goeth so fast downe, and yet somewhat must needes be sayd of every one of them.

PHI. Well said, and I trowe we beganne with those thinges which be instrumentes, whereof the first, as I suppose, was the bracer.

Tox.

TOX. Little is to be sayd of the bracer. A * bracer serveth for two causes, one to save his arme from the strype of the stringe, and his doublet from wearing; and the other is, that the stringe glidinge sharplye and quicklye of the bracer, maye make the sharper shoote. For if the stringe shoulde lighte upon the bare sleve, the strengthe of the shoote shoulde stoppe and dye there. But it is beste, by my judgmente, to geve the bowe so muche bent, that the stringe neede never touche a mans arme, and so shoulde a man neede no bracer, as I knowe many good archers which occupye none. In a bracer a man must take hede of three thinges, that it have no nayles in it, that it have no buckles, that it be fast on with laces without agglettes. For the nayles will sheere in sunder a mans stringe before he be ware, and so put his bowe in jeopardy: buckles and agglettes at unawares, shall race his bowe, a thinge both evill for the fighte, and perillous for freatinge. And thus a bracer is only had for this purpose, that the stringe maye have redye passage.

Bracer.

PHI. In my bracer I am cunnigne enoughe, but what say you of the shootinge glove? TOX. A shootinge glove is chieflie for to save a mans fingers from hurtinge, that he maye be able to beare the sharpe stringe to the uttermoste of his strengthe. And when a man shooteth, the might of his shoote lyeth on the foremost finger, and on the ringman, for the middle finger, which is the longest, like a lubber, starteth backe, and beareth no weight of the stringe in a manner at all, therefore the two other fingers must have thicker leather, and that must have thickest of all, whereon a man lowseth most, and for sure lowfinge, the foremost finger is most apt, because it holdest best, and for that purpose, nature hath, as a man would say, yocked it with the thombe. Leather, if it be next a mans skinne, will sweate, waxe harde and chafe, therefore scarlet, for the softnesse of it and thicknesse withall, is good to sewe within a mannes glove. If that will not serve, but your finger hurteth, you must take a searing cloth, made of fine virgin waxe, and deres fewet, and put next your finger, and so on with your glove. If yet you feele your finger pinched, leave shootinge, both because then you shall shoote nought, and againe by little and little, hurtinge your finger, ye shall make it longe and longe to or you shoote

Shootinge
glove.

* Those who write of things well known, seldom extend their care to time in which they may be known less. This account of the *bracer* is somewhat obscure. It seems to have been a kind of close sleeve laced upon the left arm.

again. A newe glove pluckes manye shootes, because the stringe goeth not frelye of, and therefore the fingers must be cutte shorte, and trimmed with some ointment, that the stringe maye glyde well away. Some with holding in the nocke of their shafte harde, rubbe the skinne of their fingers. For this there be two remedies, one to have a goose quill * spinetted and sewed against the nockinge, betwixt the lyninge and the leather, which shall helpe the shoote much to; the other way is to have some roule of leather sewed betwixt his fingers, at the settinge on of the fingers, which shall kepe his fingers so in sunder, that they shall not holde the nocke so fast as they did. The shootinge glove hath a purse, which shall serve to put fine linen clothe and waxe in, two necessarye thinges for a shooter. Some men use gloves, or other such like thinge on theyr bow-hand for chafinge, because they hold so hard. But that cometh commonly when a bow is not round, but somewhat square; fine waxe shall do verye well in such a case to lay where a man holdeth his bow: and thus much as concerninge your glove.

And these thinges, although they be trifles, yet because you be but a yonge shooter, I would not leave them out. PHI. And so you

Stringe. shall do me most pleasure. The stringe, I trowe, be the next.

Tox. The next indeede; a thinge thoughe it be litle, yet not a litle to be regarded. But herein you must be content to put your trust in honest stringers. And surelye stringers ought more diligentlye to be looked upon by the officers, than eyther bower or fletcher, because they may deceyve a simple man the more easelyer. An ill stringe breaketh many a good bowe, nor no other thinge halfe so manye. In warre, if a stringe breake the man is lost, and is no man, for his weapon is gone, and although he have two stringes put on at once, yet he shall have small leasure and lesse rouse to bende his bowe, therefore God send us good stringers both for warre and peace. Now what a stringe ought to be made on, whether of good hempe, as they do nowe a dayes, or of flaxe, or of filke, I leave that to the judgement of stringers, of whom we must buy them. *Eustathius*, upon this verse of

Eustathius. *Homer,*

Iliad 4. † *Twang the bowe, and twang the string, out quicklie the shaft flue:*
doth tell, that, in oulde time, they made theyr bowe stringes of bullox

* *Spinnetted* is perhaps *slit* and *opened*.

† Perhaps this line should stand thus,

‘Twang the bow, and twang *went* the string, out quickly the shaft flue.’

thermes,

* thermes, which they twined together as they do ropes, and therefore they made a greate twange. Bow stringes also hath bene made of the heare of an horse tayle, called, for the matter of them, *Hippias*, as doth appeare in manye good authors of the *Greeke* tongue. Great Favorinus. stringes and litle stringes be for divers purposes: the great string is more furer for the bowe, more stable to pricke withall, but slower for the cast. The litle string is cleane contrarye, not so sure, therefore to be taken heede of, lest with longe taryinge on, it breake your bowe, more fit to shoote farre, than apt to pricke neare, therefore when you know the nature of both bigge and litle, you must fit your bowe accordinge to the occasion of your shootinge. In stringinge of your bowe (though this place belonge rather to the handlinge than to the thinge itselfe, yet because the thinge, and the handlinge of the thinge, be so joyned together, I must needes sometimes couple the one with the other) you must marke the fit length of your bowe. For, if the stringe be too shorte, the bendinge will geve, and at the last slyp, and so put the bowe in jeopardye. If it be longe, the bendinge must nedes be in the small of the stringe, which beinge sore twyned, must needes knap in sunder, to the destruction of manye good bowes. Moreover, you must looke that your bowe be well nocked, for feare the sharpnesse of the horne there asunder the stringe. And that chaunceth oft when in bending, the stringe hath but one way to strenght it withall. You must marke also to set your stringe streighte on, or els the one ende shall wrieth contrarye to the other, and so breake your bowe. When the stringe beginneth never so litle to weare, trust it not, but away with it, for it is an yll saved halfpenny, that costes a man a crowne. Thus you see how many jeopardyes hangeth over the selye poore bow, by reason onely of the stringe. As when the stringe is shorte, when it is longe, when eyther of the nockes be noughte; when it hath but one way, and when it taryeth over longe on.

PHI. I see well it is no marveile, though so many bowes be broken. Tox. Bowes be broken twyse as many wayes befyde these. But againe in stringinge your bowe, you must loke for much bende or litle bende, for they be cleane contrarye. The litle bende hath but one commoditie, which is in shootinge faster, and farther shoote, and the cause thereof is, because the stringe hath so farre a passage, or it part with the shaft. The great bende hath

* *Thermes* or *tharms* are guts.

many commodities: for it maketh easyer shooting, the bow beinge half drawen afore. It needeth no bracer, for the stringe stoppeth before it come at the arme. I will not so sone hit a mans fleve or other geare, by the same reason. It hurteth not the shaft fether, as the low bend doth. It suffereth a man better to espie his marke. Therefore let your bowe have good bigge bende, a shaftment and two fingers at the least, for these which I have spoken of.

- PHI. The bracer, glove, and stringe, be done, nowe you must come to the bowe, the chiefe instrument of all. Tox. Dy-
- Bowe. vers countryes and tymes have used alwayes dyvers bowes, and of dyvers fashions. Horne bowes are used in some places now, and were used also in *Homerus* dayes, for *Pandarus* bowe, the best shooter amonge all the *Troyans*, was made of two goate hornes
- Iliad. 4. joyned together, the lengthe whereof, sayth *Homer*, was sixteen hand-bredes, not farre differinge from the lengthe of our bowes.
- Psalme 17. Scripture maketh mention of brasse bowes. Iron bowes, and stele bowes, have bene of longe time, and also now are used among the *Turkes*, but yet they must nedes be unprofitable. For if brasse, iron, or stele, have their owne strengthe and pithe in them, they be farre above mans strengthe: if they be made meete for mans strengthe, theyr pithe is nothings worth to shoote any shoote withall. The *E-*
- Hera. in Pol. *thiopians* had bowes of palme tree, which seemed to be very stronge, but we have none experience of them. The length of them was four cubites. The men of *Inde* had theyr bowes made of a rede, which was of a great strength. And no marveile thoughte bowe and shaftes were made thereof, for the redes be so greate in *Inde*, as *Herodotus* sayth, that of everye joynte of a rede a man may make a fishers bote. These
- In Thal. bowes, sayth *Arrianus* in *Alexanders* life, gave so greate a stroke, that no harnesse or buckler, thoughte it were never so stronge, could withstande it. The length of such a bowe was even with the length of him that used it. The *Lycians* used bowes made of a tree, called in
- Arrianus 8. *Latine Cornus*, (as concerninge the name of it in *Englishe*, I can soner prove that other men call it false, than I can tell the right name of it myselfe) this wodde is as harde as horne, and verye fitte for shaftes, as shall be toulde after. *Ovid* sheweth that *Syrinx* the *Nymphe*, and one of the maydens of *Diana*, had a bowe of this wodde, whereby the poet meaneth, that it was very excellent to make bowes of.
- In Polym. Metam. 1.

As for Brasell, Elme, Wych, and Ashe, experience doth prove them to be but meane for bowes, and so to conclude, Ewe of all other thinges is that, whereof perfite shootinge would have a bowe made. This wodde, as it is nowe generall and common amonges *Englishmen*, so hath it continued from long time, and had in most price for bowes, amonges the *Romaines*, as doth appeare in this halfe verse of *Virgill*.

Taxi torquentur in arcus.

Virgilius.

Ewe fit for a bowe to be made on.

Nowe, as I saye, a bowe of Ewe must be made for perfecte shootinge at the prickes, which marke, because it is certaine, and most certaine rules may be geven of it, shall serve for our communication at this time. A good bowe is knowen, much what as good counsayle is knowen, by the ende and profite of it; yet both a bowe and good counsayle may be made both better and worse, by well or ill handlinge of them, as oftentimes chaunceth. And as a man both must and will take counsayle of a wyse and honest man, though he see not the ende of it; so must a shooter, of necessitye, trust an honest and good bowyer for a bowe, afore he knowe the prooffe of it. And as a wyse man will take plenty of counsayle aforehande, whatsoever neede, so a shooter should have alwayes three or four bowes in store, whatsoever chaunce. PHI. But if I trust bowyers alwayes, sometimes I am like to be deceyved. Tox. Therefore shall I tell you some tokens in a bowe, that you shall be the seldomer deceyved. If you come into a shoppe, and find a bowe that is small, longe, heavye, and stronge, lyinge streighte, not windinge, not marred with knotte gaule, winde shake, wem, freat or pinch, bye that bowe of my warrante. The beste colour of a bowe that I finde, is when the backe and the bellye in workinge be much what after one maner, for such oftentimes in wearinge do prove like virgin waxe or golde, havinge a fine longe graine, even from the one ende of the bowe to the other; the shorte graine, although such prove well sometimes, are for the most part very brittle. Of the makinge of the bowe, I will not greatly meddle, lest I should seeme to enter into an other mans occupation, which I cannot skill of. Yet I would desyre all bowyers to season theyr staves well, to work them and synke them well,

to

to geve them heetes conveniente, and * tylleringes plentye. For thereby they should both gette themselves a good name, (and a good name encreaseth a mans profite muche) and also do great commoditie to the hole realme. If anye man do offende in this poynte, I am afraid they be those journeymen, which laboure more spedelye to make many bowes for their moneye sake, than they work diligentlye to make good bowes, for the common wealth sake, not layinge before theyr eyes this wyse proverbe, *Sone enough, if well enough*; wherewith every honest handy craftes man should measure, as it were with a rule, his worke withall. He that is a journeyman, and rydeth upon another mans horse, if he ryde an honest pace, no man will disallowe him: but if he make poste haste, both he that owneth the horse, and he peradventure also that afterward shall bye the horse, may chaunce to curse him. Such hastinesse, I am afrayde, may also be founde amonges some of them, which throughe oute the realme, in divers places, worke the Kinges artillerye for warre, thinking, if they get a bow or a sheafe of arrowes to some fashon, they be good enough for bearing gere. And thus that weapon, which is the chiefe defence of the realme, verye oft doth little service to him that should use it, because it is so negligently wrought of him that should make it, when trulye I suppose that neither the bowe can be too good and chiefe woode, nor yet too well seasoned or truly made, with hetinges and tilleringes, neither that shafte too good wodde, or too thorowly wroughte, with the best pinion fethers that can be gotten, wherewith a man shall serve his Prince, defende his countrie, and save himselfe from his enemye. And I trust no man will be angrie with me for speakinge thus, but those which finde themselves touched therein: which ought rather to be angrie with themselves for doinge, than to be discontent with me for sayinge so. And in no case they ought to be displeased with me, seeinge this is spoken also after that fort, not for the notinge of any person severallye, but for the amendinge of everye one generallye.

But turne we againe to know a good shootinge bowe for our purpose. Everye bow is made eyther of a bough, of a plante, or of the boole of the tree. The bough commonlye is very knottye, and full of pinnes, weake, of small pithe, and sone will folowe the stringe, and feldome werith to anye fayre coloure, yet for children and yong beginners it may serve well

* *Tylleringe* is a word of art which I do not understand.

enough. The plant proveth many times well, if it be of a good and cleane groweth, and, for the pithe of it, is quicke enoughe of cast, it will plye and bowe farre before it breake, as all other yonge thinges do. The boole of the tree is cleaneft without knot or pin, having a fast and harde wodde, by reason of his full groweth, strong and mightye of caste, and best for a bowe, if the staves be even cloven, and be afterwarde wrought, not overthwart the woode, but as the graine and streight growinge of the woode leadeth a man, or els, by all reason, it must sone breake, and that in many shivers. This must be considered in the roughe woode, and when the bowe staves be over wroughte and fashioned. For in dressinge and pykinge it up for a bowe, it is too late to loke for it.

But yet in these pointes, as I sayde before, you must trust an honeste bowyer, to put a good bowe in your hand, somewhat lookinge yourselfe to those tokens I shewed you. And you must not sticke for a grote or twelve pence more than another man would geve, if it be a good bowe. For a good bowe twise paid for, is better than an ill bowe once broken.

Thus a shooter must begin, not at the makinge of his bowe, like a bowyer, but at the byinge of his bowe, like an archer. And, when his bowe is boughte and broughte home, afore he trust much upon it, let him trye and trimme it after this sort.

Take your bowe into the fiede, shoote in him, sincke him with deade heavye shaftes, looke where he cometh moste, provide for that place betimes, least it pinche, and so freate: when you have thus shotte in him, and perceyved good shootinge woode in him, you must have him againe to a good, cuninge, and trusty workman, which shall cutte him shorter, and pike him and dresse him fitter, make him come round compasse every where, and whipping at the endes, but with discretion, least he whippe in sunder, or els freete, soner than he is ware of: he must also laye him streight, if he be caste, or otherwise neede requyre, and if he be flatte made, gather him rounde, and so shall he both shoote the faster, for farre shootinge, and also be surer for near prickinge. PHIL. What if I come into a shoppe, and spye out a bowe, which shall both then please me very well when I bye him,

and be also very fitte and meete for me when I shoote in him: so that he be both weak enoughe for easy shootinge, also quicke and speedye enoughe for farre castinge, then, I would thincke, I shall neede no more busines with him, but be content with him, and use him well enoughe, and so, by that means, avoyde both great trouble, and also some cost, which you cunninge archers very often put yourselves unto, beinge verye *Englishmen*, never ceasinge piddeling about theyr bowe and shaftes, when they be well, but eyther with shortinge and pykinge your bowes, or els with newe featheringe, peeing and headinge your shaftes, can never have done untill they be starke noughte. Tox. Well, *Philologe*, surelye if I have any judgmente at all in shootinge, it is no very great good taken in a bow, whereof nothinge when it is new and fresh neede be cutte away, even as *Cicero* sayth of a younge mans witte and style, which you know better than I. For every newe thinge must alwayes have more than it needeth, or els it will not waxe better and better, but ever decaye, and be worse and worse. Newe ale, if it runne not over the barrel when it is newe tunned, will sone leafe his * pithe, and his heade afore he be longe drawn on. And likewyse as that colte, which, at the first takinge up, needeth litle breakinge and handlinge, but is fitte and gentle enoughe for the faddle, seldome or never proveth well: even so that bowe, which at the first byinge, without any more proof and trimminge, is fitte and easye to shoote in, shall neyther be profitable to laste longe, nor yet pleasant to shoote well. And therefore as a young horse full of courage, with handlinge and breakinge, is brought unto a sure pace and goinge, so shall a newe bowe, fresh and quick of caste, by sinking and cutting, be broughte to a stedfast shootinge. And an easy and gentle bowe, when it is newe, is not much unlike a soft spirited boye, when he is younge. But yet, as of an unrulye boye with righte handlinge, proveth oftenest of all a well ordered man: so of an unfit and staffishe bowe, with good trimminge, must nedes folowe alwayes a stedfast shootinge bowe. And suche a perfite bowe, which never will deceive a man, excepte a man deceyve it, must be had for that perfecte ende, which you loke for in shootinge.

PHI. Well, *Toxophile*, I see well you be cunninger in this gere than I: but put the case that I have three or foure such good

* *Pithe* is strength, spritelines, vigour, power of action.

bowes,

bowes, pyked and dressed as you now speake of, yet I do remember that many learned men do say, that it is easyer to get a good thinge, than to save and kepe a good thinge, wherefore, if thou can teach me as concerninge that point, you have satisfied me plentifullye, as concerninge a bowe.

Tox. Trulye it was the next thinge that I would have come unto, for so the matter laye. When you have brought your bowe to such a pointe, as I spake of, then you must have a harden or wullen cloth waxed, wherewith every daye you must rubbe and chafe your bowe, till it shyne and glitter withall. Which thinge shall cause it both to be cleane, well favoured, goodlye of coloure, and shall also bringe, as it were, a cruste over it, that is to saye, shall make it everye where on the out syde, so flipperye and harde, that neyther anye weete or weather can enter to hurte it, nor yet anye freate, or pinche, be able to byte upon it: but that you shall do it greate wronge before you breake it. This must be done oftentimes, but especially when you come from shootinge.

Beware also when you shoote of your shafte heades, dagger, knyves, or agglettes, lest they race your bowe, a thinge, as I sayde before, both unfemelye to loke on, and also daungerous for freates. Take heede also of mistye and dankinshe dayes, which shall hurt a bowe more than anye rayne. For then you must eyther alwaye rubbe it, or els leave shootinge.

Your bowe case (this I did not promise to speake of, because it is Bowe case. without the nature of shootinge, or els I should trouble me with other thinges infinite more: yet seinge it is a savegarde for the bowe, some thinge I will saye of it) your bowe case, I saye, if you ryde forthe, must neyther be to wyde for your bowes, for so shall one clappe uppon an other, and hurt them, nor yet so straye that scarce they can be thrust in, for that would lay them on syde, and wynde them. A bow case of lether is not the best, for that is oft times moyst, which hurteth the bowes very much.

Therefore I have seene good shooters which would have for everye bowe a fere case, made of wullen clothe, and then you maye putte three or four of them so cased, into a lether case if you will. This wullen

T

case

case shall both kepe them in funder, and also will kepe a bowe in his full strength, that it never geve for anye weather.

At home these * woode cases be verye good for bowes to stande in. But take hede that your bowe stande not to nere a stone wall, for that will make him moyst and weake, nor yet to neare anye fyre, for that will make him shorte and brittle. And thus much as concerninge the savinge and keepinge of our bowe: now you shall heare what thinges ye must avoyde, for fear of breakinge your bowe.

A shooter chaunceth to breake his bowe commonlye four wayes, by the stringe, by the shaft, by drawinge to farre, and by freates. By the stringe, as I sayd afore, when the stringe is eyther to short, to long, not surelye put on, with one wappe, or just croked on, or shorne in funder with an evill nocke, or suffered to tarye over long on. When the stringe fayles the bowe must needes breake, and speciallye in the middes: because both the endes have nothings to stoppe them: but whippes so farre backe, that the bellye must needes violently rise up, the which you shall well perceyve in bendinge of a bowe backwarde. Therefore a bowe that foloweth the stringe is least hurte with breakinge of stringes.

By the shaft a bow is broken eyther when it is to short, and so you set it in your bowe, or when the nocke breakes for litle nesse, or when the stringe slippes without the nocke for wydenesse, then you pull it to your eare and lettes it go, which must needes breake the shaft at the least, and put stringe and bow and all in jeopardy, because the strength of the bowe hath nothings in it to stoppe the violence of it. This kinde of breakinge is most perillous for the standers by, for in such a case you shall see some time the ende of a bow flye a hoole score from a man, and that most commonly, as I have marked oft, the upper ende of the bowe.

The bow is drawne to farre two wayes. Eyther when you take a longer shaft then your owne, or els when you shift your hande to lowe or to hye for shootinge farre. This waye pulleth the backe in funder, and then the bowe fleeth in many peces.

* There is no mention of wooden cases before, therefore it should perhaps be *wool cases*, unless something be left out by the printer.

So when you see a bowe broken, havinge the bellye risen uppe both wayes or to one, the stringe brake it. When it is broken in two peces, in a maner even of, and speciallye in the upper ende, the shaft nocke brake it. When the backe is pulled asunder in many peces, to farre drawinge brake it. These tokens eyther alwayes be true, or els very seldome misse.

The fourthe thinge that breaketh a bowe is freates, which make a bowe redye and apt to breake by any of the three wayes afore sayde. Freates be in a shaft as well as in a bowe, and they be much like a canker, creepinge and encreasinge in those places in a bowe, which be weaker then other. And for this purpose must your bowe be well trimmed and pyked of a cunninge man, that it maye come rounde in compasse everye where. For freates you must beware, if your bow have a knot in the backe, lest the places which be next it, be not allowed stronge enoughe to bere with the knot, or els the stronge knot shall freate the weake places next it. Freates be first litle pinches, the which when you perceave, pike the places about the pinches, to make them somewhat weaker, and as well comminge as where it pinched, and so the pinches shall dye, and never encrease farther into freates.

Freates begin many times in a pinne, for there the good woode is corrupted, that it must nedes be weake, and because it is weake, therefore it freates. Good bowyers therefore do raise every pinne, and alowe it more woode for feare of freatinge.

Againe, bowes most commonly freate underthe hand, not so much as some men suppose for the moistnesse of the hand, as for the heate of the hand. The nature of the heat, sayth *Aristotle*, is to loose, and not to knitte fast, and the more looser the more weaker, the more weaker the redier to freate.

A bowe is not well made, which hath not woode plentye in the hande. For if the endes of the bowe be stiffishe, or a mans hand any thinge hote, the bellye must nedes sone frete. Remedye for freates to any purpose I never harde tell of anye, but only to make the freated place as strong, or stronger, than anye other. To fill up the freate with litle shevers of a quill and glewe, as some saye will do well, by reason must be starke nought. For, put the case the freate did cease then, yet

THE WORKS OF

the cause which made it freate afore, (and that is weaknesse of the place) because it is not taken away, must needs make it freate againe. As for cuttinge out of freates, with all maner of peeing of bowes, I will cleane exclude from perfite shootinge. For peeced bowes be much like ould housen, which be more chargeable to repayre then commodious to dwell in. And againe, to swadle a bowe much about with bandes, verie seldome doth anye good, excepte it be to keepe down a spell in the backe, otherwise bandes eyther nede not, when the bowe is any thing worthe, or els boote not, when it is marde and past best. And although I know mean and poore shooters will use peeced and banded bowes sometimes, because they are not able to get better when they would, yet, I am sure, if they would consider it well, they shall find it both lesse charge and more pleasure, to bestowe at any time a couple of shillings of a newe bowe, than to bestowe ten pence of peeing an ould bowe. For better is coste upon somewhat worth, than spence upon nothinge worth. And this I speake also, because you would have me referre all to perfitenesse in shootinge.

Moreover there is another thinge, which will sone cause a bowe to be broken by one of the three wayes which be first spoken of, and that is shootinge in * Winter, when there is anye frost. Frost is wheresoever is any waterishe humour, as is in woodes, eyther more or lesse, and you knowe that all thinges frosen and isie will rather breake than bende. Yet, if a man must needs shoote at any such time, let him take his bowe and bring it to the fire, and there, by little and little, rubbe and chafe it with a waxed clothe, which shall bringe it to that point, that he maye shoote safely enough in it. This rubbing with waxe, as I sayde before, is a greate succour against all wete and moyltnesse. In the fieldes also, in goinge betwixt the prickes, eyther with your hand, or els with a cloth, you must kepe your bowe in such a temper.

And thus much as concerninge your bowe, howe first to knowe what woode is best for a bowe, then to chose a bowe, after to trimme a bowe, againe to kepe it in goodnesse, last of all, how to save it from all harme and evilnesse. And although many men can saye more of a bowe, yet I trust

* Boyle somewhere mentions a *Pole*, who related that the cold of his countries winters broke his bow.

these thinges be true, and almost sufficient for the knowledge of a perfect bowe.

PHI. Surely I believe so, and yet I could have heard you talke longer on it: although I cannot see what may be sayd more of it. Therefore, excepte you will pause a while, you may go forward to a shaft.

Tox. What shaftes were made of, in ould time, authors do not so manifestly shewe, as of bowes. *Herodotus* doth tell, that in the floude of *Nilus* there was a beaste, called a Water Horse, of whose skin, after it was dryed, the *Egyptians* made shaftes and dartes. The tree called *Cornus* was so common to make shaftes of, that, in good authors of the *Latine* tongue, *Cornus* is taken for a shafte, as in *Seneca*, and that place of *Virgill*,
Shaftes.
Herod.
Euterp.
Sen. Hipp.

Volat itala cornus.

Virg. En. 9.

Yet, of all thinges that ever I marked of ould authors, eyther *Greeke* or *Latine*, for shaftes to be made of, there is nothings so common as reedes. *Herodotus*, in describenge the mightye hoast of *Xerxes*, doth tell, that three greate countryes used shaftes made of a rede, the *Ethiopians*, the *Lycians*, (whose shaftes lacked fethers, whereat I marveile most of all) and the men of *Inde*. The shaftes of *Inde* were very longe, a yarde and an halfe, as *Arrianus* doth saye, or, at the least, a yarde, as *Q. Curtius* doth saye, and therefore they gave the greater strype, but yet, because they were so longe, they were the more unhanfome, and lesse profitable to the men of *Inde*, as *Curtius* doth tell.
In Polym.
Arrianus. 8.
Q. Curt. 8.

In *Crete* and *Italy* they used to have theyr shaftes of reede also. The best reede for shaftes grew in *Inde*, and in *Rhenus*, a floud of *Italye*. But, because such shaftes be neyther easye for *Englisshemen* to get, and, if they were gotten, scarce profitable for them to use, I will let them passe, and speake of those shaftes which *Englisshemen*, at this daye, most commonly do approve and allowe. A shaft hath three principall parts, the stele, the fethers, and the head: whereof every one must be severallye spoken of.
Plin. 16. 36.

Steles be made of divers woodes: as,

Brasell,

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Brasell,	Servistree,
Turkie Woode,	Hulder,
Fusticke,	Blackthorne,
Sugercheste,	Beche,
Hardbeame,	Elder,
Byrche,	Aspe,
Ashe,	Salowe.
Oake,	

These woodes, as they be most commonly used, so they be most fit to be used: yet some one fitter then an other for divers mens shootinge, as shall be told afterward. And in this pointe, as in a bowe, you must truste an honest fletcher. Neverthelesse, although I cannot teach you to make a bowe or a shaft, which belongeth to a bowyer and a fletcher to come to theyr lyving, yet will I shewe you some tokens to know a bowe and a shafte, which pertayneth to an archer to come to good shootinge.

A stele must be well * seasoned for castinge, and it must be made as the graine lyeth, and as it groweth, or els it will never flye cleane, as clothe cut overthwart, and against the wull, can never hoose a man cleane. A knotty stele may be suffered in a bigge shaft, but for a little shaft it is nothing fit, both because it will never flye farre, and, besides that, it is ever in danger of breaking, it flyeth not farre because the strength of the shoote is hindered and stopped at the knot, even as a stone cast into a plaine even still water, will make the water move a great space, yet, if there be any whirling plat in the water, the moving ceaseth when it cometh at the whirling plat, which is not much unlike a knot in a shaft, if it be considered well. So every thing as it is plaine and straight of his own nature, so it is fittest for farre movinge. Therefore a stele which is harde to stand in a bowe without knot, and streighte, (I mean not artificiallye streight as the fletcher doth make it, but naturallye streighte as it groweth in the woode) is best to make a shafte of, eyther to go cleane, flye farre, or stande surely in anye weather.

Now how bigge, how small, how heavye, how light, how long, how short, a shaft should be particularly for every man, seeing we must

* *Seasoned for casting*, that is, well seasoned to hinder it from warping.

talke of the general nature of shootinge, can not be toulde no more than you Rhetoricians can appoint anye one kind of wordes, of sentences, of figures, fit for everye matter, but even as the man and the matter requyreth, so the fittest to be used. Therefore, as concerninge those contraries in a shaft, everye man must avoyde them, and drawe to the meane of them, which mean is best in all thinges. Yet if a man happen to offende in any of the extremes, it is better to offende in want and scantnesse, than in to much and outragious excedinge. As it is better to have a shaft a litle to short than over longe, somewhat to light, than over lumpishe, a litle to smal, than a greate deale to big, which thinge is not only truly sayde in shootinge, but in all other thinges that ever man goeth about, as in eatinge, taulkinge, and all other thinges like, which matter was once excellentlye disputed upon, in the scholes, you know when.

And to offende, in these contraries, commeth much, if men take not heede, throughe the kinde of woode, whereof the shaft is made; for some woode belonges to that excedinge part, some to the scant part, some to the meane, as Brasell, Turkie woode, Fusticke, Sugar cheste, and such like, make dead, heavye, lumpishe, hobbling shaftes. Againe, Hulder, Blacke thorne, Serveestree, Beeche, Elder, Aspe, and Salowe, eyther for theyr weaknes or lightnesse, make holow, starting, scudding, gaddinge shaftes. But Birche, Hardbeame, some Oake, and some Ashe, being both stronge enoughe to stande in a bowe, and also light enoughe to fly farre, are best for a meane, which is to be sought out in every thinge. And although I know, that some men shoote so stronge, that the deade woodes be light enough for them, and other some so weake, that the louse woodes be likewyse for them bigge enoughe, yet generallye, for the most part of men, the meane is the best. And so to conclude, that is alwayes best for a man, which is meetest for him. Thus no woode of his owne nature is eyther to light or to heavy, but as the shooter is himselfe which doth use it. For that shaft, which one yeare for a man is to lighte and scuddinge, for the selfe same reason the next yeare may chaunce to be heavye and hobblinge. Therefore cannot I expresse, except generallye, what is best woode for a shafte, but let everye man, when he knoweth his owne strengthe, and the nature of everye woode, provide and fit himselfe thereafter. Yet, as concerninge sheaffe arrowes for war, (as I suppose) it were better to make them of good Ashe, and not of Aspe, as they be now a dayes. For of all other woodes

woodes that ever I proved, Ashe beinge bigge is swiftest, and againe heve to geve a great stripe withall, which Aspe shall not do. What heaviness doth in a stripe every man by experience can tell, therefore Ashe being both * swifter and heavier, is more fit for sheafe arrowes than Aspe, and thus much for the best woode for shaftes.

Againe likewise as no one woode can be greatlye meete for all kinde of shaftes, no more can one fashion of the stele be fit for every shooter. For those that be little breasted and bigge towarde the heade, called by theyr likeness Taper fashion, Reshe Growse, and of some mery felowes Bobtailes, be fit for them which shoote under hand, because they shoote with a softe louse, and stresses not a shafte much in the breste, where the weight of the bowe lyeth, as you may perceyve by the weringe of everye shafte. Againe, the bigge breasted shaft is fit for him which shooteth right afore him, or els the breast beinge weake should never withstande that stronge pithye kinde of shootinge; thus, the under hand must have a smal brest to go cleane away out of the bowe, the fore hand must have a bigge breste to beare the great might of the bowe. The shaft must be made rounde, nothinge flat, without gall or wemme, for this purpose. For because roundnesse (whether you take example in heaven or in earthe) is fittest shappe and forme both for fast movinge, and also for soner percinge of any thinge. And therefore *Aristotle* sayth, that nature hath made the raine to be rounde, because it should the easelyer enter through the ayre.

The nocke of the shaft is diversely made, for some be great and full, some handsome and litle; some wyde, some narowe, some deepe, some shalowe, some rounde, some longe, some with one nocke, some with double nocke, whereof every one hath his propertye. The great and full nocke may be well felt, and manye wayes they save a shaft from breakinge. The handsome and litle nocke will go cleane awaye from the hand, the wyde nocke is noughte, both for breakinge of the shafte and also for sodaine slippinge out of the stringe, when the narowe nocke doth avoyde both those harmes. The deepe and longe nocke is good in warre for sure keepinge in of the stringe. The shalowe and rounde nocke is best for our purpose in pricking for cleane

* This account of the qualities of the ash, which is represented as having some peculiar power of swiftness, is obscure. He probably means, that ash is the wood which, in a quantity proper for an arrow, has weight enough to strike hard, and lightness enough to fly far.

deliverance of a shoote. And double nocking is used for double
 fuertye of the shafte. And thus farre as concerninge a hoole stele. Pee-
 cinge of a shaft with Brasell and Hollie, or other heavye woodes, is
 to make the ende *compasse heavye with the feathers in flyinge, for
 the stedfaster shootinge. For if the ende were plumpe heavye with
 leade and the wood next it light, the head ende would ever be down-
 wards, and never flye streight. Two pointes in peecinge be enough,
 least the moystnesse of the earth enter to much into the peecinge, and
 so louse the glue. Therefore many pointes be more pleasaunte to the
 eye, than profitable for the use. Some use to peece theyr shaftes in the
 nocke with Brasell or hollye, to counterwey with the heade, and I
 have seene some for the same purpose bore an hole a litle beneath the
 nocke, and put leade in it. But yet none of these wayes be any thing
 needfull at all, for the nature of a feather in flying, if a man mark
 it well, is able to beare uppe a wonderful weight: and I thincke
 such peecinge came uppe first, thus: when a good archer hath bro-
 ken a good shaft, in the feathers, and for the fantasie he hath had
 to it, he is loth to leese it, and therefore doth he peece it. And then
 by and by other, either because it is gaye, or els because they will have
 a shaft like a good archer, cutteth theyr hole shaftes, and peeceth
 them againe: a thinge, by my judgmente, more costlye than nedefull.
 And thus have you hearde what woode, what fashion, what nocking,
 what peecinge, a stele must have. Now foloweth the featheringe.

PHI. I would never have thought you could have sayde half so much
 of a stele, and, I thincke, as concerninge the litle feather, and the
 playne heade, there is but litle to saye. Tox. Litle, Yes, truly:
 for there is no one thinge in all shootinge so much to be looked on as
 the feather. For, first, a question may be asked: Whether any other
 thinge besyde a feather, be fit for a shaft or no? If a feather only
 be fit, whether a goose feather onely or no? If a goose feather be
 best, then whether there be any difference as concerninge the feather
 of an olde goose, and a younge goose; a gander, or a goose; a fenny
 goose, or an uplandishe goose? Againe, which is the best feather in any
 goose, the right winge or the left winge, the pinion feather, or any
 other feather: a whyte, blacke, or greye feather? Thirdly, in setting
 on your feather, whether it is pared or drawn with a thicke rybbe,
 or a thinne rybbe, (the rybbe is the hard quill which divideth the fea-

* *Compass heavy seems to signify proportionately heavy.*

ther) a long feather better or a shorte, set on near the nocke, or far from the nocke, set on streight, or somewhat bowinge? And whether one or two feathers runne on the bowe. Fourthlye, in coulinge or sheeringe, whether highe or lowe, whether somewhat swyne backed (I must use shooters wordes) or sadle backed, whether rounde or square shorne? And whether a shaft at any time ought to be plucked, and howe to be plucked?

PHI. Surely, *Toxophile*, I thincke many fletchers, although daylye they have these thinges in ure, if they were asked sodenly, what they could say of a fether, they could not saye so much. But I pray you let me heare you more at large expresse those thinges in a feather, the which you packed up in so narrowe a rουμε. And first, whether any other thing may be used for a feather or not?

Tox. That was the first pointe indede, and because there foloweth many after, I will hye apace over them, as one that had many a mile to ryde.

Plin. 16. 36. Shaftes to have had alwayes feathers, *Plinius* in *Latine*, and *Julius Pol-*

J. Pol. 1. 10. *lux* in *Greke*, do plainlye shewe, yet onelye the *Lycians* I reade in *Hero-*

Herod. Pol. *dotus*, to have used shaftes without feathers. Onelye a feather is fit

for a shaft for two causes, first because it is * leath, weake to geve place to the bowe, then because it is of that nature, that it will starte up after the bowe. So plate, woode, or horne, cannot serve, because they will not geve place. Againe, clothe, paper, or parchmente, cannot serve, because they will not ryse after the bowe, therefore a feather is only meete, because it only will do both. Nowe to loke on the feathers of all maner of byrdes, you shall see some so lowe, weake and short, some so course, store and harde, and the ribbe so brickle, thin and narrow, that it can neither be drawen, pared, nor yet well set on, that excepte it be a swanne for a deade shaft, (as I knowe some good archers have used) or a duche for a flight, which lastes but one shoote, there is no feather but onelye of a goose that hath all commodities in it. And trulye at a shorte butte, which some man doth use, the peacock feather doth feldome kepe up the shaft eyther right or level, it is so rough and heavye, so that manye men, which have taken them up for gaynesse, hath layde them down agayne for profite, thus, for our purpose, the goose is the best feather, for the best shooter.

PHI. No that is not so, for the best shooter that ever was, used other feathers.

Tox. Yea, are you so cunnige in shootinge? I praye you who was

* *Leath* is limber, flexible, easily giving way: *Milton* calls it *lithe*.

that? PHI. *Hercules*, which had his shaftes feathered with eagles feathers, as *Hesiodus* doth say. Tox. Well, as for *Hercules*, seeing Hesiodus in Seuto. Her. neyther water nor lande, heaven nor hell, coulde scarce content him to abyde in, it was no marveile though felye poore goose feather coulde not please him to shoote withal; and againe, as for eagles, they flye so hye and builde so farre of, that they be very harde to come by. Yet well fare the gentle goose, which bringeth to a man, even to his doore, so many exceeding commodities. For the goose is mans comfort in warre and in peace, sleepeinge and wakinge. What prayse soever is geven to shootinge, the goose may challenge the best part in it. Howe well dothe she make a man fare at his table? Howe easlye dothe she make a man lye in his bedde? Howe fit even as her feathers be only for shootinge, so be her quills fit only for wrytinge. PHI. Indede, *Toxophile*, that is the best prayse you gave to a goose yet, and surely I would have sayde you had bene to blame, if you had overskippte it.

A Goose.

Tox. The *Romaynes*, I trowe, *Philologe*, not so much because a goose with crying saved their *Capitolium*, and heade toure, with their golden *Jupiter*, as *Propertius* doth say very pretely in this verse,

Anseris et tutum voce fuisse Jovem.

Propertius.

Id est,

Theves on a night had stolne *Jupiter*, had a goose not a kekede.

Did make a golden goose, and set her in the toppe of the *Capitolium*, Livius 1. Dec. 5. and appointed also the *Censores* to allow out of the common butche yearely stipendes, for the findinge of certaine geese; the *Romaynes*, did not, I saye, geeve all this honour to a goose for that good dede onely, but for other infinite mo, which come daily to a man by geese; and surelye if I should declame in the prayse of any maner of best lyvinge, I would chuse a goose. But the goose hath made us flee to farre from our matter. Now, Sir, ye have heard how a feather must be had, and that a goose feather onely: it foloweth of a young goose and an olde, and the residue belonginge to a feather: which thinge I will shortlye course over; whereof, when you knowe the properties, you may fit your shaftes according to your shootinge, which rule you must observe in all other thinges to, because no one fashion or quantitie can be fit for every man, no more than a shooe or a cote can be. The olde goose

feather is stiffe and stronge, good for a wynde, and fittest for a dead shaft: the younge goose feather is weake and fyne, best for a swifte shafte, and it must be couled at the first sheering, somewhat hie, for with shootinge it will sattle and faule very much. The same thing (althoughe not so much) is to be considered in a goose and a gander. A fenny goose, even as her fleshe is blacker, stoorer, unholsomer, so is her feather, for the same cause, courser, stoorer, and rougher, and therefore I have heard very good fletchers say, that the second fether in some place is better than the pinion in other some. Betwixt the winges is litle difference, but that you must have divers shaftes of one flight, feathered with divers winges, for divers wyndes: for if the wynd and the feather go both one waye, the shafte will be caryed to much. The pinion feathers, as it hath the first place in the winge, so it hath the first place in good featheringe. You may know it afore it be pared, by a bought which is in it, and againe when it is couled, by the thicknesse above, and the thicknesse at the grounde, and also by the stiffnesse and finesse which will cary a shaft better, faster and further, even as a fine sayle cloth doth a shippe.

The coloure of the feather is least to be regarded, yet somewhat to be looked on; for a good white you have sometimes an ill greye. Yet surely it standeth with good reason, to have the cocke feather blacke or greye, as it were to geve a man warninge to nocke right. The cocke feather is called that which standeth above in right nockinge, which if you do not observe, the other feathers must needs runne on the bowe, and so marre your shote. And thus farre of the goodnesse and choyce of your feather: now foloweth the setting on. Wherein you must looke that your feathers be not drawen for hastinesse, but pared even and streight with diligence. The fletcher draweth a feather when it hath but one swappe at it with his knife, and then playneth it a litle, with rubbing it over his knife. He pareth it when he taketh leysure and heede, to make everye part of the rybbe apt to stand streight and even on upon the stele. This thing, if a man take not hede on, he may chaunce have cause to say so of his fletcher, as in dressinge of meate is commonlye sayde of cookes: and that is, that God sendeth us good feathers, but the devill noughtye fletchers. If anye fletchers heard me say thus, they would not be angrie with me, excepte they were ill fletchers: and yet by reason, those fletchers too ought rather

rather to amende themselves for doing ill, than be angrie with me for saying truth. The ribbe in a stiffe feather may be thinner, for so it will stande cleaner on: but in a weake feather you must leave a thicker ribbe, or else if the ribbe, which is the foundation and grounde wherein nature hath set every cleft of the feather, be taken to nere the feather, it must nedes folow, that the feather shall fall and droup down, even as any herbe doth which hath his roote to nere taken on with a spade. The length and shortnesse of the feather serveth for divers shaftes, as a longe feather for a longe, heavye, or byg shafte, the short feather for the contrarye. Againe, the shorte maye stande farther, the longe nerer the nocke. Your feather must stand almost streight on, but yet after that sort, that it may turne rounde in flyinge.

And here I consider the wonderfull nature of shootinge, which standeth altogether by that fashon, which is most apt for quicke movinge, and that is by roundnesse. For first the bowe must be gathered rounde, in drawinge it must come rounde compasse, the stringe must be rounde, the stele must be round, the best nocke rounde, the feather shorne somewhat rounde, the shaft in flyinge must turne rounde, and, if it flye far, it flyeth a rounde compasse, for eyther above or beneath a rounde compasse hindereth the flyinge. Moreover, both the fletcher in makinge your shaft, and you in nockinge your shaft, must take heede that two feathers equally runne on the bow. For if one feather runne alone on the bowe, it shall quickly be worne, and shall not be able to match with the other feathers; and againe, at the lowse, if the shaft be light, it will start, if it be heavye, it will hoble. And thus as concerning settinge on of your feather. Now of coulinge.

To shere a shaft highe or lowe, must be as the shafte is, heavye or light, great or litle, long or short, the swyne backed fashon maketh the shaft deader, for it gathereth more ayre than the saddle backed, and therefore the saddle backe is surer for daunger of weather, and fitter for smothe flyinge. Againe, to shere a shaft rounde, as they were wont sometimes to do, or after the tryangle fashon, which is mucche used now a dayes, both be good. For roundnesse is apte for flyinge of his own nature, and all maner of tryangle fashon (the sharpe pointe goinge before) is also naturallie apte for quicke entringe;
and

De Nat.
Deor.

and therefore sayth *Cicero*, that cranes, taught by nature, observe in flying a tryangle fashon alwayes, because it is so apte to perce and go through the ayre withall. Last of all, plucking of feathers is nought, for there is no suretye in it, therefore let every archer have such shaftes, that he may both know them and trust them at every chaunge of weather. Yet, if they must nedes be plucked, plucke them as litle as can be, for so shall they be the lesse unconstant. And thus I have knit up in as short a rouse as I could, the best feathers, featheringe, and coulinge of a shaft.

PHI. I thincke surelye you have so taken up the matter with you, that you have left nothinge behinde you. Nowe you have broughte a shafte to the heade, which, if it were on, we had done as concerninge all instrumentes belonging to shootinge. Tox. Necessitye, the inventor of all goodnesse (as all authors in a manner do saye) amonges all other thinges invented a shaft head, first to save the end from breakinge, then it made it sharpe to sticke better, after it made it of strong matter, to last better: last of all, experience and wysedome of men hath brought it to such a perfitnesse, that there is no one thinge so profitable belonging to artillerye, either to strike a mans enemye forer in warre, or to shoote nerer the marke at home, than is a fitte heade for both purposes. For if a shaft lacke a heade, it is worth nothing for neyther use. Therefore, seeinge heades be so necessarye, they must of necessitye be well looked upon. Heades for warre, of longe time hath bene made, not onlye of divers matters, but also of divers fashions. The *Troyans* had heades of yron, as this verse, spoken of *Pandarus*, sheweth:

Iliad. 4. Up to the pappe his stringe did he pull, his shaft to the harde yron.

The *Grecians* had heades of brasse, as *Ulysses* shaftes were headed, when he slewe *Antoninus* and the other wowers of *Penelope*.

Odyss. 21. — Quite throughe a dore flewe a shaft with a brasse head.

Iliad. 4. It is playne in *Homer*, where *Menelaus* was wounded of *Pandarus* shaftes, that the heades were not glewed on, but tyed on with a string, as the commentaries in *Greke* plainly tell. And therefore shooters, at that time, used to carye theyr shaftes without heades, until they occupied them, and then set on an head, as it appeareth in *Homer*, the
twenty-

twenty-first booke *Odyfsey*, where *Penelope* brought *Ulyfles* bow downe amonges the gentlemen which came on wowing to her, that he which was able to bende it and drawe it, might enjoy her, and after her folowed a mayde, sayth *Homer*, caryinge a bagge full of heades, both *Odyff.* 21. of yron and brasse.

The men of *Scythia* used heads of brasse. The men of *Inde* used heads of yron. The *Ethiopians* used heads of hard sharpe stone, as *Herod. Clio.* both *Herodotus* and *Pollux* doth tell. The *Germanes*, as *Cornelius Tacitus* doth faye, had theyr shaftes headed with bone, and manye countryes, both of olde time and nowe, use heades of horne. But, of all other, yron and stele must nedes be the fittest for heades. *Julius Pollux* cal- *J. Pol. 1. 10.* leth otherwyse than we do, where the feathers be the heade, and that which we call the heade, he calleth the point.

Fashion of heades is divers, and that of olde time: two manner of arrowes heades, sayth *Pollux*, was used in olde time. The one he calleth ὀγκινος, describenge it thus, havinge two pointes or barbes, lokinge backward to the stele and the feathers, which surelye we call in *Englishe* a brode arrowe head, or a swalowe taylor. The other he calleth γλωχίς, having two pointes stretchinge forward, and this *Englishe* men do call a forke heade: both these two kindes of heades were used in *Homers* dayes, for *Teucer* used forked heades, sayinge thus to *Agamemnon*,

Eight good shaftes have I shot sith I came, ech one with a forke heade. *Iliad. 8.*

Pandarus heades and *Ulyfles* heades were brode arrowe heades, as a man maye learne in *Homer*, that would be curious in knowinge that matter. *Hercules* used forked heades, but yet they had three pointes or forkes, when other mens had but two. The *Parthians* at that great battaile where they flue riche *Craffus* and his sonne, used brode arrowe heads, whiche sticke so fore that the *Romaynes* could not pull them out againe. *Commodus* the Emperour used forked heades, whose fashion *Plutarchus* in *Craffo.* *Herodian* doth lively and naturallie describe, sayinge, that they were like the shap of a newe mone, wherewith he woulde smite the head of a birde, and never misse; other fashion of heades have not I redde on. Our *Englishe* heades be better in warre than eyther forked heades or brode arrowe heades. For first, the ende beinge lighter, they flee a great deale the faster, and, by the same reason, geveth a farre forer stripe.

stripe. Yea, and, I suppose, if the same litle barbes which they have, were clean put away, they should be farre better. For this every man doth graunt, that a shaft, as long as it flyeth, * turnes, and when it leaveth turning, it leaveth going any farther. And every thing that enters by a turning and boringe fashion, the more flatter it is, the worse it enters, as a knife, though it be sharpe, yet, because of the edges, will not bore so well as a bodkin, for everye rounde thinge enters best; and therefore nature, sayth *Aristotle*, made the raine droppes round, for quicke percinge the ayre. Thus, eyther shaftes turne not in flyinge, or else our flat arrow heades stop the shaft in entering.

PHI. But yet, *Toxophile*, to hold your communication a litle, I suppose the flat head is better, both because it maketh a greater hole, and also because it stickes faster in.

Tox. These two reasons, as they be both true, so they be both nought. For first, the lesse hole, if it be deepe, is the worse to heale againe: when a man shooteth at his enemy, he desyreth rather that it should enter farre, than stick fast. For what remedye is it, I praye you, for him that is smitten with a deepe wounde, to pull out the shaft quickely, except it be to hast his death spedelye? Thus heades which make a litle hole and deep, be better in warre, than those which make a great hole and stick fast in. *Julius Pollux* maketh mention of certaine kindes of heades for warre, which beare fyre in them, and Scripture also speaketh somewhat of the same. *Herodotus* doth tell a wonderfull policy to be done by *Xerxes*, what time he besieged the great tower in *Athens*: He made his archers binde theyr shaft heades about with towe, and then set it on fyre and shoote them, which thing done by many archers, set all the place on fyre, which were of matter to burne: and, besydes that, dased the men within, so that they knew not whyther to turne them. But, to make an end of all heades for warre, I woulde wyshe that the heade makers of *Englande* should make theyr sheafe arrow heades more harder pointed than they be: for I myselfe have seene of late such heades set upon sheafe arrowes, as the officers, if they had seene them, would not have bene content withall.

Pollux 7.

Psalm 7:

Herod.

Vran.

Nowe as concerninge heades for prickinge, which is our purpose, there be divers kindes, some be blunt heades, some sharpe, some both

* If it be true, as I believe it is, that a shaft turns round in flying, it is not true that triangular shafts are good for piercing, as has been said by the authour, nor that *Commodus* could intercept the neck of a bird between the two points of a half moon.

blonte

blonte and sharpe. The blonte heades men use, because they perceive them to be good to kepe a lengthe withall, they kepe a good lengthe, because a man pulleth them no further at one time than at another; for in feelinge the plompe ende alwayes equallye, he may lowse them. Yet, in a winde, and against the winde, the weather hath so much power on the brode ende, that no man can kepe no sure length with such a head; therefore a blunt head, in a caulme or downe a winde, is very good, otherwise none worse. Sharpe heades at the ende, without any shoulders, (I call that the shoulders in a heade which a mans finger shall feele afore it come to the point) will perch quicklie through a winde, but yet it hath two discommodities, the one that it will kepe no length, it kepeth no length, because no man can pull it, certainly as farre at one time as at another: it is not drawen certainly so farre one time as at another, because it lacketh shoulderinge, wherewith, as with a sure token, a man might be warned when to louse; and also because men are afraid of the sharpe pointe for settinge it in the bowe. The second incommoditye is when it is lighted on the ground, the small point shall everye time be in jeopardy of hurtinge, which thinge, of all other, will sonest make the shaft lese the length. Nowe, when blunt heades be good to kepe a length withall, yet nought for a winde; sharpe heades good to perch the weather withal, yet nought for a length; certaine heade makers, dwellinge in *London*, perceyving the commoditye of both kindes of heades, joyned with a discommoditye, invented new files and other instrumentes, wherewith they brought heades for prickinge to such a perfitnesse, that all the commodityes of the two other heades should be put in one heade, without any discommodity at all. They made a certaine kinde of heades, which men call Hie Rigged, Creased, or Shouldred heades, or Silver-Spoon heades, for a certaine likenesse that such heades have with the knob ende of some silver spones. These heades be good both to kepe a length withall, and also to perche a winde withall. To kepe a length withall, because a man maye certainly pull it to the shoulderinge every shoote, and no farther; to perch a winde withall, because the point, from the shoulder forward, breaketh the weather as all other sharpe thinges doo. So the blunt shoulder serveth for a sure length kepinge, the pointe also is ever fit for a roughe and great weather percinge. And thus much, as shortly as I could, as concerninge heades both for warre and peace.

PHI. But is there no cunninge as concerninge

cerninge setting on of the heade. **Tox.** Well remembred. But that point belongeth to fletchers, yet you may desyre him to set your heade full on, and close on. Full on is when the woode is bet harde up to the ende or stoppinge of the heade; close on, is when there is left woode on everye syde the shafte, enoughe to fill the head withall, or when it is neyther too litle nor yet too great. If there be anye fault in any of these pointes, the heade, when it lighteth on an harde stone, or ground, will be in jeopardye, eyther of breakinge, or els otherwise hurtinge. Stopping of heades eyther with leade or any thinge els, shall not nede now, because every silver spoone, or shouldred heade, is stopped of itselfe. Shorte heades be better than longe: for first, the longe heade is worse for the maker to file streight compasse everye waye; againe, it is worse for the fletcher to set straight on; thirdlye, it is alwayes in more jeopardye of breakinge when it is on. And now, I trowe, *Philologe*, we have done as concerninge all instrumentes belonging to shootinge, which every fere archer ought to provide for himselfe. And there remayneth two thinges behinde, which be general or common to every man, the weather and the marke, but, because they be so knit with shootinge straighte, or kepinge of a lengthe, I will refer them to that place; and now we will come (God willinge) to handle our instrumentes, the thinge that every man desyreth to do well. **PHI.** If you teache me so well to handle the instrumentes as you have descrybed them, I suppose I shall be an archer good enoughe. **Tox.** To learne any thinge, (as you know better than I, *Philologe*) and especiallye to do a thinge with a mans handes, must be done, if a man would be excellent, in his youthe. Younge trees in gardens, which lacke all senses, and beastes without reason, when they be younge, may, with handlinge and teachinge, be brought to wonderfull thinges.

And this is not onelye true in natural thinges, but in artificiall thinges to, as the potter most cunningly doth cast his pottes when his claye is soft and workable, and waxe taketh print when it is warme, and leathie weake, not when clay and waxe be harde and olde: and even so, every man in his youth, both with witte and bodye, is most apte and pliable to receive any cunning that should be taught him.

This communication of teachinge youth, maketh me remember the right worshipful, and my singular good maister, Sir *Humphreye Wing-fielde*,

felde, to whom, next God, I ought to referre, for his manifold benefits bestowed on me, the pore talent of learninge which God hath lent me: and for his sake do I owe my service to all other of the name and noble house of the *Wingfeldes*, both in worde and deede. This worshipful man hath ever loved and used to have many children brought up in learninge in his house, amonges whom I myselfe was one. For whom at terme-times he would bringe down from *London* both bowe and shaftes, and, when they should playe, he would go with them himselfe into the *felde*, and see them shoote, and he that shotte fayrest, should have the best bowe and shaftes, and he that shotte ill favouredly, should be mocked of his fellowes, till he shotte better.

Would to God all *Englande* had used, or would use to laye the foundation, after the example of this worshipful man, in bringinge up children in the booke and the bowe: by which two thinges the hole common wealthe, both in peace and warre, is chieflye ruled and defended withall.

But to our purpose, he that must come to this high perfectness in shootinge, which we speake of, must nedes beginne to learne it in his youthe, the omittinge of which thinge in *England*, both maketh fewer shooters, and also every man, that is a shooter, shoote worse than he might if he were taught. PHI. Even as I knowe this is true, which you saye, even so, *Toxophile*, you have quite discouraged me, and drawen my minde cleane from shootinge, seeinge, by this reason, no man that hath not used it in his youthe, can be excellent in it. And I suppose the same reason would discourage many other mo, if they heard you talk after this sort. TOX. This thinge, *Philologe*, shall discourage no man that is wyse. For I will prove that wysedome may worke the same thinge in a man, that nature doth in a childe.

A childe by three thinges is broughte to excellencye. By aptnesse, desyre, and feare: aptnesse maketh him pliable, like waxe, to be formed and fashioned, even as a man would have him. Desyre, to be as good, or better, than his fellowes: and fear of them whom he is under, will cause him take great laboure and paine with diligente heede, in learninge any thing, whereof proceedeth, at the last, excellencye and perfectnesse.

A man maye, by wysedome in learninge of any thinge, and speciallye to shoote, have three like commodities also, whereby he may, as it were, become yonge againe, and so attaine to excellencye. For as a childe is apt by naturall youthe, so a man, by usinge at the first weake bowes, farre underneth his strength, shall be as pliable and redye to be taughte fayre shootinge as any childe: and dailye use of the same shall both keepe him in fayre shootinge, and also at the last bringe him to stronge shootinge.

And, instede of the fervent desyre which provoketh a child to be better than his felowe, let a man be as much stirred up with shamefastnes to be worse than all other. And the same place that feare hath in a childe, to compel him to take paine, the same hath love of shootinge in a man, to cause him forsake no labour, without which no man nor childe can be excellent. And thus, whatsoever a childe may be taught by aptnesse, desyre, and fear, the same thinge in shootinge may a man be taught by weake bowes, shamefastnesse and love.

And hereby you may see that that is true which *Cicero* sayth, that a man, by use, may be brought to a newe nature. And this I dare be bould to saye, that anye man which will wiselye beginne, and constantly persevere in his trade of learninge to shoote, shall attaine to perfectnesse therein.

PHI. This communication, *Toxophile*, doth please me very well, and now I perceive that most generally and chiefly youthe must be taught to shoote, and, secundarilye, no man is debarred therefrom except it be more throughe his own negligence, for because he will not learne, than any disabilitye because he cannot learne. Therefore, seeinge I will be glad to folowe your counsel in chosinge my bowe and other instrumentes, and also am ashamed that I can shoote no better than I can, moreover, havinge such a love towarde shootinge by your good reasons to daye, that I will forsake no laboure in the exercise of the same, I beseech you imagine that we had both bow and shaftes here, and teache me how I should handle them; and one thinge I desyre you, make me as fayre an archer as you can.

For this I am sure, in learninge all other matters, nothing is brought to the most profitable use, which is not handled after the most comelye fashion. As maisters of fence have no stroke fitte eyther to hitte an other,

other, or els to defende himselfe, which is not joyned with a wonderfull comlineffe. A cooke cannot choppe his herbes neyther quickly nor handsomely, excepte he kepe such a measure mith his choppinge knyves, as would delight a man both to see him and heare him. Every handye crafteman that workes beste for his owne profite, workes most semely to other mens sighte. Agayne in buildinge a house, in makinge a shippe, every parte, the more handsomlye they be joyned for * profite and laste, the more comelye they be fashioned to every mans sight and eye.

Nature itselfe taught men to joyne alwayes wellfavourednesse with profitablenesse. As in man, that joynte or piece which is by any chaunce deprived of his comlineffe, the same is also debarred of his use and profitablenesse. And he that is gogle eyde, and lokes a squinte, hath both his countenance clene marred, and his sight sore blemished, and so in all other members like. Moreover, what time of the year bringeth most profite with it for mans use, the same also covereth and decketh both earth and trees with most comlineffe for mans pleasure. And that time which taketh away the pleasure of the grounde, caryeth with him also the profite of the grounde, as every man by experience knoweth in harde and roughe winters. Some thinges there be which hath no other ende, but only comlineffe, as payntinge and dauncing. And vertue itselfe is nothinge else but comlineffe, as all *Philosophers* do agree in opinion; therefore, seeinge that which is best done in any matters, is alwayes most comlye done, as both *Plato* and *Cicero* in many places do prove, daily experience doth teache in other thinges, I praye you, as I said before, teache me to shoote as fayre, wellfavouredly, as you can ymagen. Tox. Trulye, *Philologe*, as you prove very well in other matters, the best shootinge is alwayes the most comlye shootinge; but this you know as well as I, that *Crassus* sheweth in *Cicero*, that, as comlynesse is the chiefe pointe, and most to be sought for in all thinges, so comlynesse only can never be taughte by any arte or craft; but may be perceyved well when it is done, not described well how it should be done. Yet, neverthelesse, to come to it there be many wayes, which wyse men hath assayed in other matters, as if a man would folowe, in learninge to shoote fayre, the noble paynter *Zeuxes* in payntinge *Helena*, which, to make his image beautiful, did chose out five of the

* *Profite and laste*, convenience and duration.

fairest

THE WORKS OF

fairest maydes in all the countrie about, and, in beholdinge them, conceyved and drue out such an image, that it farre exceeded all other, because the comlineffe of them all was brought into one most perfit comlineffe: so likewyse in shootinge, if a man would set before his eyes five or six of the fairest archers that ever he saw shoote, and of one learne to stande, of another to drawe, of another to lowse, and so take of every man what every man could do best; I dare saye, he should come to such a comlineffe as never man came to yet.

PHI. This is very well trulye, but I pray you teache me somewhat of shootinge fayre yourselfe. Tox. I can teache you to shoote fayre, even as *Socrates* taughte a man ones to know God; for, when he asked him what was God, Nay, sayth he, I can tell you better what God is not, as God is not ill, God is unspeakable, unsearchable, and so forth: even likewyse can I say of fayre shootinge, It hath not this discommodity with it nor that discommodity; and, at last, a man may so shift all the discommodities from shootinge, that there shall be left nothinge behinde but fayre shootinge. And to do this the better, you must remember how that I toulde you, when I descrybed generallye the hole nature of shootinge, that fayre shootinge came of these things, of standinge, nocking, drawinge, houldinge, and lowsing, the which I will go over as shortly as I can, describinge the discommodities that men commonly use in all partes of theyr bodyes, that you, if you faulte in anye such, may know it, and so go about to amende it. Faultes in archers do exceed the number of archers, which come with use of shootinge withoute teachinge. Use and custome seperated from knowledge and learninge, doth not only hurt shootinge, but the most weightye things in the world besyde: and, therefore, I marveile much at those people which be the maintayners of uses without knowledge, having no other worde in theyr mouth but this *use, use, custome, custome*. Such men, more wilfull than wyse, besyde other discommodities, take all place and occasion from all amendment. And this I speake generallye of use and custome. Which thinge, if a learned man had it in hand that would applye it to any one matter, he might handle it wonderfully. But, as for shooting, use is the only cause of all faultes in it, and therefore children, more easely and sooner, may be taught to shoote excellently than men, because children may be taught to shoote

shoote well at the first, men have more pain to unlearne theyr ill uses, than they have labour afterwarde to come to good shootinge.

All the discommodities which ill custome hath graffed in archers, can neyther be quickly pulled oute, nor yet soone reckoned of me, there be so many. Some shooteth his head forward, as though he would byte the marke; another stareth with his eyes, as though they should flye out; another winketh with one eye and loketh with the other; some make a face with wrything theyr mouth and countenance so, as though they were doinge you wotte what; another blereth oute his tongue; another byteth his lippes; another holdeth his necke awrye. In drawinge, some fet such a compasse, as though they would turne about, and *bleffe all the field; other heave theyr hand now up now downe, that a man cannot decerne whereat they would shoote: another waggeth the upper end of his bow one way, the nether ende another way. Another will stand pointing his shaft at the marke a good while, and, by and by, he will geve him a whippe, and away or a man witte. Another maketh such a wrestlinge with his gere, as though he were able to shoote no more as longe as he lived. Another draweth softlye to the middes, and, by and by, it is gone you cannot know howe. Another draweth his shaft lowe at the breast, as though he would shoote at a roving marke, and, by and by, he lifteth his arme up pricke heyght. Another maketh a wrynginge with his backe, as though a man pinched him behinde. Another coureth downe, and layeth out his buttockes, as though he should shoote at crows. Another setteth forward his left legge, and draweth back with heade and shoulders, as though he pulled at a rope, or else were afrayed of the mark. Another draweth his shaft well, untill within two fingers of the heade, and then he stayeth a little, to loke at his marke, and, that done, pulleth it up to the head, and lowfeth: which waye, although some excellent shooters do use, yet surelye it is a fault, and good mennes faultes are not to be folowed. Some drawe to farre, some to short, some to slowlye, some to quicklye, some hold over longe, some let go over sone. Some sette theyr shafte on the ground, and fetcheth him upwarde; another pointeth up towarde the skye, and so bringeth him downwardes.

* This alludes to the actions of the Romish priest in publick benedictions. This passage may explain a very obscure phrase in *Spenser*, who calls waving the sword in circles, *bleffing* the sword.

Ones I sawe a man which used a bracer on his cheke, or else he had scratched all the skinne of the one syde of his face with his drawinge-hande. Another I saw, which, at every shote, after the loose, lifted up his righte legge so far that he was ever in jeopardy of faulnge. Some stampe forward, and some leape backward. All these faultes be eyther in the drawinge, or at the loose; with many other mo, which you may easelye perceyve, and so go about to avoyde them.

Now afterward, when the shaft is gone, men have many faultes, which evill custome hath brought them to, and speciallye in cryinge after the shaft, and speaking wordes scarce honest for such an honest pastime.

Such wordes be very tokens of an ill minde, and manifest signes of a man that is subject to inmesurable affections. Good mennes eares do abhorre them, and an honest man therefore will avoyde them. And besydes those which must needs have theyr tongue thus walkinge, other men use other faultes, as some will take theyr bowe and wrythe and wrinche it, to pull in his shaft, when it flyeth wyde, as if he drave a cart. Some will geve two or three strydes forward, daunsinge and hoppinge after his shaft, as long as it flyeth, as though he were a madde man. Some, which feare to be to farre gone, runne backward, as it were to pull his shafte backe. Another runneth forward, when he feareth to be shorte, heavinge after his armes, as though he woulde helpe his shafte to flye. Another wrythes, or runneth asyde, to pull in his shafte straight. One lifteth up his heele, and so holdeth his foote still, as long as his shafte flyeth. Another casteth his arme backward after the louse. And another swynges his bowe about him, as it were a man with a shafte to make rouse in a game place. And manye other faultes there be, which now come not to my remembraunce. Thus, as you have hearde, many archers, with marringe theyr face and countenance, with other partes of theyr bodye, as it were men that should daunce antiques, be farre from the comely porte in shootinge, which he that would be excellent must loke for.

Of these faultes I have very many myselfe, but I talke not of my shootinge, but of the general nature of shootinge. Now ymagen an archer

archer that is cleane without all these faultes, and I am sure every man would be delighted to see him shoote.

And althoughe such a perfite comlynesse cannot be expresse with any precepte of teachinge, as *Cicero* and other learned men do say, yet I will speake (according to my little knowledge) that thing in it, which if you folowe, although you shall not be without faulte, yet your faulte shall neyther quickly be perceyved, nor yet greatly rebuked of them that stand by. Standing, nocking, drawing, holding, loweing, done as they should be done, make fayre shootinge.

The first point is when a man should shoote, to take such footing Standinge. and standinge, as shall be both comely to the eye, and profitable to his use, setting his countenance and all the other partes of his bodye after such a behaviour, and port, that both all his strength may be employed to his own most advantage, and his shote made and handled to other mens pleasure and delyte. A man must not go to hastily to it, for that is rashnesse, nor yet make to much to do about it, for that is curiosity; the one fote must not stand to far from the other, least he stoupe to much, which is unsemely, nor yet to nere together, least he stande to streyghte uppe, for so a man shall neyther use his strength well, nor yet stande stedfastlye.

The mean betwixt both must be kept, a thinge more pleasaunt to behold when it is done, than easy to be taught how it should be done.

To nocke well is the easyest pointe of all, and therein is no cun- Nockinge. ning, but only diligente heede gevinge, to set his shafte neyther to hye nor to lowe, but even streight overwharte his bowe. Unconstant nocking maketh a man leese his lengthe. And besydes that, if the shafte ende be hye, and the bowe-hand low, or contrarye, both the bowe is in jeopardye of breakinge, and the shaft, if it be little, will start: if it be greate, it will hobble. Nocke the cocke fether upward alwayes, as I toulde you when I descrybed the fether. And be sure alwayes that your stringe slip not out of the nocke, for then all is in jeopardye of breakinge.

Y

Drawinge

Drawinge.

Drawinge well is the best part of shootinge. Men in oulde time used other maner of drawinge than we do. They used to drawe lowe at the breast, to the right pappe, and no further; and this to be true is plaine in *Homer*, where he descrybeth *Pandarus* shootinge.

Iliad. 4.

Up to the pap his stringe did he pull, his shafte to the hard beade.

The noble women of *Scythia* used the same fashion of shootinge lowe at the breast, and, because theyr left pappe hindred theyr shooting at the lowse, they cut it off when they were young, and therefore they be called, in lacking theyr pappe, *Amazones*. Nowe a daye, contrarywise, we drawe to the righte eare, and not to the pappe. Whether the old waye in drawinge lowe to the pappe, or the new way, to drawe alofte to the eare, be better, an excellent wryter in *Greece*, called *Procopius*, doth saye his minde, shewing that the olde fashion in drawinge to the pappe was noughte of no pithe, and therefore, sayth *Procopius*, is artillery disprayed in *Homer*, which calleth it *ἐλιδανος*, i. e. weake, and able to do no good. Drawinge to the eare he prayseth greatlye, whereby men shoote both stronger and longer: drawinge therefore to the eare is better than to drawe at the breast. And one thing commeth into my remembraunce nowe, *Philologe*, when I speak of drawinge, that I never redde of other kinde of shootinge, than drawinge with a mans hande eyther to the breste or eare: this thing have I sought for in

Crosbowes.

Homer, *Herodotus*, and *Plutarch*, and therefore I marveile how crosbowe came first uppe, of the which, I am sure, a man shall find litle mention made on any good author. *Leo* the Emperour would have his souldiours drawe quicklye in warre, for that maketh a shaft flye apace. In shootinge at the prickes, hastye and quicke drawinge is neyther sure nor yet comely. Therefore to drawe easely and uniformlye, that is for to say, not wagginge our hand, now upward, now downward, but alwayes after one fashion, untill you come to the rigge or shouldringe of the heade, is best both for profite and seemelinese.

Holdinge.

Holdinge must not be longe, for it both putteth a bowe in jeopardye, and also marreth a mans shote; it must be so litle, that it may be perceyved better in a mans minde, when it is done, than seene with a mans

Lowfinge.

eyes when it is in doinge. Lowfinge must be much like. So quicke and harde, that it be without all girdes, so soft and gentle, that the shafte flye not as it were sent out of a bowe-case. The meane betwixt both,

both, which is perfite lowfinge, is not so harde to be folowed in shootinge as it is to be descrybed in teachinge. For cleane lowfinge, you must take heede of hitinge any thinge about you. And for the same purpose, *Leo* the Emperour would have all archers in warre to have theyr heades pouled, and theyr beardes shaven, least the heere of theyr heads should stoppe the fighte of the eye, the heere of theyr beards hinder the course of the stringe. And these preceptes, I am sure, *Philologe*, if you folowe, in standing, nocking, drawing, holding, and lowfing, shall bring you at the last to excellent fayre shootinge.

PHI. All these thinges, *Toxophile*, although I both now perceyve them thoroughlye, and also will remember them diligentlye: yet to-morrowe, or some other day when you have leysure, we will go to the prickes, and put them by litle and litle in experience. For teachinge not folowed, doeth even as much good as bookes never looked upon. But now, feinge you have taughte me to shoote fayre, I pray you tell me somewhat, how I should shoote neare, least that proverbe might be sayde justlye of me some time, *He shootes like a gentleman fayre and farre off*.

Tox. He that can shoote fayre, lacketh nothing but shootinge streight, and keeping of a length, whereof commeth hittinge of the marke, the ende both of shootinge, and also of this our communication. The handling of the wether and the marke, because they belonge to shootinge streight, and keping of a length, I will joyne them together, shewinge what thinges belonge to kepinge of a lengthe, and what to shootinge streight.

The greatest enemye of shooting is the winde and the weather, whereby true kepinge a lengthe is chieflye hindered. If this thinge were not, men, by teachinge, might be brought to wonderfull neare shootinge. It is no marveile if the litle poore shaft, beinge sent alone so hye in the ayre, into a great rage of wether, one winde toffinge it that waye, another this waye, it is no marveile, I saye, though it leese the length, and misse that place where the shooter had thought to have found it. Greater matters than shootinge are under the rule and will of the weather, as in saylinge on the sea. And likewyse, as in saylinge, the chiefe point of a good master is to know the tokens of chaunge of wether, the course of the wyndes, that thereby he may the better come to the haven: even so the best propertye of a good shooter is to knowe the nature of the windes, with him and against him, and

Wynde and
wether.

thereby he maye the nerer shoote at his marke. Wyse maysters, when they cannot winne the best haven, they are glad of the next: good shooters also, that cannot when they woulde hit the marke, will labour to come as nigh as they can. All thinges in this worlde be unperfite and unconstant, therefore let every man acknowledge his own weaknesse in all matters, greate and small, weightye and merye, and glorifye him, in whom onlye perfite perfitenesse is. But now, Sir, he that will at all adventures use the seas, knowinge no more what is to be done in a tempest than in a caulme, shall soone become a merchaunt of ele skinnes: so that shooter which putteth no difference, but shooteth in all alike, in roughe weather and fayre, shall alwayes put his winninges in his eyes. Litle boates and thinne boordes cannot endure the rage of a tempest. Weake bowes, and light shaftes cannot stande in a roughe wynde. And likewise, as a blind man, which should go to a place where he had never beene afore, that hath but one streight waye to it, and of eyther syde hooles and pittes to faule into, now fauleth into this hoole, and then into that hoole, and never cometh to his journey ende, but wandereth alwayes here and there, further and further of; so that archer which ignorantly shooteth, considering neyther fayre nor foule, standinge nor nocking, fether nor head, drawinge nor lowfinge, nor any compasse, shall alwayes shoote shorte and gone; wyde and farre off, and never come neare, excepte perchaunce he stumble sometime on the marke. For ignorance is nothing else but mere blindnesse.

A maister of a shippe first learneth to know the comminge of a tempest, the nature of it, and how to behave himselfe in it, eyther with chaunginge his course, or pulling downe his hye toppes and brode sayles, being glad to eschue as much of the wether as he can; even so a good archer will first, with diligent use and marking the weather, learne to knowe the nature of the winde, and, with wysedome, will measure in his minde, how much it will alter his shote, eyther in length-kepinge, or else in streight shootinge, and so, with chaunging his standing, or taking another shaft, the which he knoweth perfite to be fitter for his purpose, eyther because it is lower fethered, or else because it is of a better wyng, will so handle with discretion his shote, that he shall seem rather to have the wether under his rule, by good beede.

heede gevinge, than the wether to rule his shaft by any sodaine chaunginge.

Therefore, in shooting, there is as much difference betwixt an archer that is a good wether man, and an other that knoweth and marketh nothinge, as is betwixt a blinde man, and he that can see.

Thus, as concerninge the wether, a perfite archer must first learne to knowe the sure flighte of his shaftes, that he may be bould alwayes to trust them, than must he learne by daily experience all maner of kindes of wether, the tokens of it, when it will come, the nature of it when it is come; the diversity and altering of it when it chaungeth, the decrease and diminishinge of it when it ceaseth. Thirdlye, these thinges knowen, and every shote diligently marked, then must a man compare alwayes the wether and his footing together, and, with discretion, measure them so, that whatsoever the wether shall take away from his shote, the same shall just footing restore againe to his shote. This thinge well knowen, and discretelye handled in shootinge, bringeth more profite and commendation and prayse to an archer, than any other thing besydes. He that would know perfectly the wind and wether, must put differences betwixt times. For diversity of time causeth diversity of wether, as in the whole yeare. Spryng time, Sommer, Faule of the leafe, and Winter: likewise in one daye, morninge, noon-tyde, afternoone, and eventyde, both alter the wether, and chaunge a mans bow with the strength of a man also. And to knowe that this is so, is enough for a shooter and artillerye, and not to searche the cause why it should be so: which belongeth to a learned man and *Philosophie*. In confideringe the time of the yeare, a wyse archer will folowe a good shipman; in winter and roughe weather, small boates and litle pinkes forsake the seas: and at one time of the yeare no gallies come abroad: so likewyse weake archers, usinge small and holowe shaftes, with bowes of litle pithe, must be content to geve place for a time. And this I do not say, eyther to discourage any weake shooter: for likewise, as there is no shippe better than galleys be, in a soft and caulme sea, so no man shooteth comlier, or nerer his marke, than some weake archers do, in a fayre and cleare daye.

Thus

Thus every Archer must know, not onely what bowe and shafte is fittest for him to shoote withall, but also what time and season is best for him to shoote in. And surely, in all other matters to, among all degrees of men, there is no man which doth any thinge eyther more discretelye for his commendation, or yet more profitable for his advantage, than he which will knowe perfutely for what matter, and for what tyme he is most apt and fitte. If men would go about matters which they should do, and be fitte for, not suche thinges which wilfully they desyre, and yet be unfitte for, verelye greater matters in the common wealth than shootinge should be in better case than they be. This ignorancye in men which knowe not for what time, and to what thing they be fitte, causeth some wyshe to be riche, for whom it were better a greate deale to be poore; other to be medlinge in everye mans matter, for whom it were more honestye to be quiete and still. Some to desyre to be in the court, which be borne and be fitter rather for the carte. Some to be maisters and rule other, which never yet began to rule themselves; some alwayes to iangle and taulke, which rather shoulde heare and kepe silence. Some to teache, which rather should learne. Some to be priestes, which were fitter to be clearkes. And this perverse judgemente of the worlde, when men measure themselves amisse, bringeth much disorder and great unsemelineffe to the hole body of the common wealthe, as if a man should weare his hooft upon his heade, or a woman go with a sworde and a buckler, everye man woulde take it as a greate uncumlineffe, although it be but a tryfle in respecte of the other.

This perverse judgement of men hindereth nothing so muche as learninge, because commonly those that be unfittest for learninge, be chieflye set to learninge. As if a man nowe a dayes have two sonnes, the one impotent, weke, sicklye, lispinge, stutteringe, and stameringe, or havinge anye misshape in his bodye; what doth the father of suche one commonlye saye? This boye is fitte for nothings else, but to set to learninge and make a priest of, as who would say, the outcastes of the worlde, having neyther countenance, tongue nor witte, (for of a perverse bodye commeth commonly a perverse minde) be good enoughe to make those men of, which shall be appointed to preache Gods holy worde, and minister his blessed sacramentes, besydes other most weightye matters in the common

mon wealthe, put oft times, and worthely, to learned mennes dyscretion and charge; when rather such an office, so highe in dignitye, so godly in administration, should be committed to no man, which should not have a countenance full of comlineffe, to allure good men, a bodye full of manly authoritye to * feare ill men, a witte apt for all learninge, with tongue and voyce able to perswade all men. And althoughe fewe such men as these can be founde in a common wealthe, yet surelye a godlye disposed man will both in his minde thincke fit, and with all his studye labour to gette such men as I speake of, or rather better, if better can be gotten, for such an hye administration, which is most properly appointed to Gods own matters and busineses.

This perverse judgemente of fathers, as concerninge the fitnesse and unfitnesse of theyr children, causeth the common wealth have manye unfit mynisters: and seinge that mynisters be, as a manne woulde say, instrumentes wherewith the common wealth doth worke all her matters withall, I marveile how it chaunceth that a poore shoemaker hath so much witte, that he will prepare no instrumente for his science, neyther knyfe nor aule, nor nothinge else which is not verye fit for him. The common wealthe can be contente to take at a fonde fathers hande the rissaffe of the worlde, to make those instrumentes of, wherewithall she shoulde woorke the hiest matters under heaven. And surelye an aule of leade is not so unprofitable in a shoo-makers shoppe, as an unfit minister, made of groose metell, is unseemelye in the common wealthe. Fathers in olde time, among the noble *Persians*, might not do with theyr children as they thought good, but as the judgement of the common wealthe alwayes thoughte best. This faulte of fathers bringeth manye a blot with it, to the great deformitye of the common wealthe: and here surelye I can prayse gentlewomen, which have alwayes at hand theyr glasses, to see if any thinge be amisse, and so will amende it, yet the common wealthe, havinge the glasse of knowledge in every mans hande, doth see suche uncumlineffe in it, and yet wincketh at it. This fault, and manye such like, might be soone wyped away, if fathers would bestowe theyr children on that thinge alwayes, whereunto nature hath ordayned them most apt and fitte. For if youth be grafted streighte, and not awrye, the hole common wealthe will floryshe thereafter. When this is done, thenne muste every man beginne to be more readye to amende himselfe, than to checke another, measuringe

* To fear is to terrify. *theyr.*

theyr matters with that wyse proverbe of *Apollo*, *Knowe thyselfe*: that is to saye, learne to knowe what thou art able, fitte, and apte unto, and folowe that. This thinge should be both cumlye to the common wealthe, and moſte profitable for everye one, as doth appeare verye well in all wyſe mennes deedes, and ſpeciallye (to turne to our communication againe) in ſhootinge, where wyſe archers have alwayes theyr instrumentes fitte for theyr ſtrength, and wayte evermore ſuch time and wether as is moſt agreeable to theyr gere. Therefore, if the wether be to ſore, and unfitte for your ſhootinge, leave off for that daye, and wayte a better ſeaſon. For he is a foole that will not go whom neceſſitye dryveth.

PHI. This communication of yours pleaſed me ſo well, *Toxophile*, that ſurelye I was not haſtye to call you to deſcrybe forth the wether, but with all my hart would have ſuffered you yet to have ſtande longer in this matter. For theſe thinges touched of you by chaunce, and by the waye, be farre above the matter itſelfe, by whoſe occaſion the other were brought in. Tox. Weightye matters they be indeede, and fitte both in an other place to be ſpoken, and of an other man than I am to be handled. And, becauſe meane men muſt meddle with meane matters, I will go forwarde in deſcrybinge the wether as concerninge ſhootinge: and, as I toulde you before, in the hole yere, Springe-time, Sommer, Faule of the leaſe, and Winter: and in one daye, Morninge, Noonetime, Afternoone, and Eventyde, altereth the courſe of the wether, the pyth of the bowe, the ſtrength of the man. And in everye one of theſe tymes, the wether altereth, as ſometime windy, ſometime caulme, ſometime cloudye, ſometime cleare, ſometime hot, ſometime coulde, the wynde ſometime moiſtye and thicke, ſometime drye and ſmoother. A litle wynd in a moiſtye day ſtoppeth a ſhaſte more than a good whyſkyng wynde in a cleare daye. Yea, and I have ſeene when there hath bene no wynde at all, the ayre ſo miſtye and thicke, that both the markes have bene wonderfull great. And ones, when the plague was in *Cambrige*, the * downe wynd twelve ſcore marke for the ſpace of three weekes was thirteen ſcore and a half, and into the wynd, being not very great, a great deale above fourteen ſcore.

The wynde is ſometime plaine up and downe, which is commonlye moſt certaine, and requireth leaſt knowledge, wherein a meane ſhooter, with meane geare, if he can ſhoote home, may make beſt ſhift. A

* *The downe wind*, &c. This paſſage I do not fully underſtand.

fyde wynd tryeth an archer and good gere very much. Sometime it bloweth aloft, sometime hard by the ground; sometime it bloweth by blastes, and sometime it continueth all in one; sometime full fyde wynd, sometime quarter with him, and more; and likewise against him, as a man with casting up light grasse, or else, if he take good heede, shall sensiblye learne by experience. To see the wynd, with a mans eyes, it is impossible, the nature of it is so fine, and subtile, yet this experience of the wynd had I ones myselfe, and that was in the great snowe that fell four yeares agoo. I rode in the hye way betwixt *Topcliffe* upon *Swale* and *Borowbridge*, the way being somewhat troden afore, by waye fayringe men; the fieldes on both sides were playne, and laye almost yeard deep with snowe, the night before had bene a litle froste, so that the snowe was harde, and crufted above; that morninge the sunne shone bright and cleare, the wynd was whistling aloft, and sharpe, according to the time of the yeare; the snow in the hye waye laye lowse and troden with horse feete; so as the wynd blewe, it toke the lowse snowe with it, and made it so slide upon the snowe in the fiede, which was harde and crufted by reason of the frost over nighte, that thereby I might see very well the hole nature of the wynde as it blewe that daye. And I had a greate delyte and pleasure to marke it, which maketh me now farre better to remember it. Sometime the wynde would be not past two yardes brode, and so it would cary the snow as farre as I could see. Another time the snowe would blowe over half the fiede at ones. Sometime the snow would tomble softlye, by and by it would flye wonderful fast. And this I perceyved also, that the wynde goeth by streames, and not hole together. For I should see one streame within a score on me, then the space of two score, no snow would styre, but, after so much quantyie of ground, an other streame of snowe, at the same very tyme, should be caryed likewyse, but not equallye, for the one would stande styll, when the other flew apace, and so continue sometime swiftlyer, sometime slowlyer, sometime broder, sometime narrower, as far as I could see. Nor it flewe not streighte, but sometime it crooked this waye, sometime that waye, and sometime it ran round about in a compasse. And sometime the snowe would be lyft cleane from the grounde up to the ayre, and by and by it would be all clapt to the ground, as though there had bene no wynd at all, streight way it would ryse and flye againe. And that which was the most marveile of all, at one time two driftes of snow flewe, the one out of the West into

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the

the East, the other oute of the North into the East. And I sawe two wyndes, by reason of the snow, the one crosse over the other, as it had been two hye wayes. And, againe, I should heare the winde blow in the ayre, when nothing was styrred at the ground. And when all was still where I rode, not verye farre from me the snow should be lifted wonderfullye. This experience made me more marveile at the nature of the wynde, than it made me cunnige in the knowledge of the wynde; but yet thereby I learned perfittely that it is no marveile at all though men in wynde lease theyr length in shootinge, seeinge so many wayes the wynde is so variable in blowinge.

But seeinge that a maister of a shyppe, be he never so cunnige, by the uncertainty of the wynde, leese many tymes both lyfe and goodes, surelye it is no wonder, though a right good archer, by the selfe same wynde, so variable in his own nature, so insensible to our nature, leese many a shote and game.

The more uncertaine and deceyvable the wynde is, the more heede must a wyse archer geve to know the gyles of it. He that doth mistrust is seldome begyled. For although thereby he shall not attayne to that which is best, yet by these meanes he shall at last avoyde that which is worst. Besyde all these kindes of wyndes, you must take heede if you see anye cloude appeare, and gather by litle and litle against you, or else, if a shower of rayne be lyke to come upon you, for then both the dryvinge of the wether and the thickinge of the ayre increaseth the marke, when, after the shower, all thinges are contrarye cleare and caulme, and the marke, for the most part, new to begin againe. You must take heede also, if ever you shoote where one of the markes, or bothe, standes a little short of a hye wall, for there you may be easilye begyled. If you take grasse and caste it up, to see howe the wynde standes, many times you shall suppose to shoote downe the wynde, when you shoote cleane against the wynde. And a good reason why. For the wynde which commeth indeed against you, redoundeth backe agayne at the waule, and whyrleth backe to the pricke, and a litle farther, and then turneth agayne, even as a vehement water doth against a rocke, or an hye braye; which example of water, as it is more sensible to a mans eyes, so it is never a whitte the truer than this of the wynde. So that the grasse caste uppe shall flee that waye which
indeede

indeede is the longer marke, and deceyve quicklye a shooter that is not ware of it.

This experience had I ones myselfe at *Norwyche* in the chapell field within the waules. And this way I used in shootinge at those markes. When I was in the mydde way betwixt the markes, which was an open place, there I toke a fethere, or a lyttle lighte grasse, and so, as well as I coulede, learned howe the wynde stoode; that done I went to the pricke as fast as I could, and, according as I had found the wynde when I was in the midde waye, so I was fayne then to be content to make the best of my shote that I could. Even such an other experience had I, in a maner, at *Yorke*, at the prickes lyinge betwixt the castle and *Ouse* fyde. And although you smyle, *Philologe*, to heare me tell myne own fondnesse; yet, seeinge you will nedes have me teache you somewhat in shootinge, I must nedes sometime tell you of mine owne experience. And the better I may do so, because *Hippocrates*, in teachinge physicke, useth very muche the same waye. Take heede also when you shoote neare the sea coast, although you be two or three myles from the sea, for there diligent marking shall espye in the most cleare daye wonderfull chaunginge. The same is to be considered lykwyse by a ryver fyde, specially if it be ebbe and flowe, where he that taketh diligente heede of the tyde and wether, shall lightlye take awaye all that he shooteth for. And thus, of the nature of wyndes and wether, accordinge to my markinge, you have hearde, *Philologe*: and hereafter you shall marke farre mo yourselfe, if you take heede. And the wether thus marked, as I tolde you afore, you must take heede of your standinge, that thereby you may winne as much as you shall lose by the wether.

PHI. I see well it is no marveile though a man misse many times in shootinge, seeinge the wether is so unconstant in blowinge, but yet there is one thinge which many archers use, that shall cause a man have lesse nede to marke the wether, and that is ame gevinge.

TOX. Of gevinge ame, I cannot tell well what I should saye. For in a straunge place it taketh awaye all occasion of foule game, which is the onlye prayse of it, yet, by my judgement, it hindereth the knowledge of shootinge, and maketh men more negligent: the which is a disprays. Though ame be geven, yet take hede, for at another mans shoote you cannot well take ame, nor at your own neyther, because the wether will alter, even in a minute, and at that one marke, and not at

Hippoc. de
herb. un.

the other, and trouble your shafte in the ayre, when you shall perceiue no wynde at the grounde, as I myfelfe have feen shaftes tumble alofte in a verye fayre daye. There may be a fault also in drawinge or lowfing, and manye thinges mo, which altogether are required to keepe a iust length. But, to go forewarde, the next point after the marking of your wether, is the taking of your standing. And, in a fyde wynde, you must stande somewhat crosse into the wynde, for so shall you shoote the furer. When you have taken good footing, then must you loke at your shaft, that no earth, nor weete, be left upon it, for so should it leese the length. You must loke at the head also, least it have had any strype at the last shote. A strype upon a stone, many times will both marre the head, croke the shaft, and hurt the fether, whereof the least of them all will cause a man leese his * strengthe. For such thinges which chaunce every shoote, manye archers use to have some place made in theyr coate, fit for a litle fyle, a stone, a hunfysk skin, and a clothe to dresse the shaft fit againe at all needes. This must a man loke to ever when he taketh uppe his shafte. And the heade may be made to smoothe, which will cause it flye to farre: when your shafte is fitte, then must you take your bowe even in the middes, or els you shall both leese your length, and put your bowe in jeopardye of breakinge. Nocking iust is next, which is much of the same nature. Then drawe equallye, lowse equallye, with houldinge your hande ever of one height to keepe true compasse. To loke at your shafte heade at the lowse is the greatest helpe to keepe a lengthe that can be, which thing yet hindereth excellent shootinge, because a man cannot shoote streight perfectlye excepte he loke at his marke; if I should shoote at a line, and not at the marke, I would alwayes loke at my shafte ende: but of this thinge some what afterwarde. Nowe, if you marke the wether diligentlye, keepe your standinge iustlye, hould and nocke trulye, drawe and lowse equallye, and keepe your compasse certainlye, you shall never misse of your lengthe. PHI. Then there is nothinge behinde to make me hit the marke, but only shootinge streight. Tox. No trulye. And first I will tell you what shiftes archers have founde to shoote streight, then what is the best way to shoote streight. As the wether belongeth speciallye to keepe a lengthe (yet a fyde winde belongeth also to shoote streight) even so the nature of the pricke is to shoote streighte. The lengthe or shortnesse of the marke is alwayes under the rule of the wether, yet somewhat there is in the marke, worthie to be marked of

* Perhaps it should be *length*.

an archer. If the prickes stande on a streighte plaine grounde, they be the beste to shoote at. If the marke stande on a hill-syde, or the grounde be unequall with pittes and turninge wayes betwixt the markes, a mans eye shall thincke that to be streighte which is crooked: the experience of this thinge is seen in paintinge, the cause of it is known by learninge: and it is enough for an archer to marke it, and take heede of it. The chiefe cause whye men cannot shoot streight, is because they loke at theyr shafte; and this faulte commeth, because a man is not taughte to shoote when he is younge. If he learne to shoote by himselfe, he is afraide to pull the shaft through the bowe, and therefore loketh alwayes at his shaft; ill use confirmeth this fault as it doth many mo. And men continue the longer in this fault, because it is so good to kepe a lengthe withall: and yet to shoote streighte, they have invented some wayes to espye a tree or a hill beyond the marke, or els to have some notable thing betwixt the markes; and ones I saw a good archer which did cast off his gere, and layed his quiver with it, even in the mid waye betwixte the prickes. Some thought he did it for savegard of his gere: I suppose he did it to shoote streighte withall. Other men use to espye some marke almost a bowe wyde of the pricke, and then go about to kepe himselfe on the hand that the pricke is on, which thinge how much good it doth, a man will not believe, that doth not prove it. Other, and those very good archers, in drawinge, loke at the marke untill they come almost to the heade, then they loke at theyr shafte, but, at the verye lowse, with a second sight, they finde theyr marke againe. This waye, and all other afore of me reherfed, are but shiftes, and not to be folowed in shootinge streight. For having a mans eye alwaye on his marke, is the onelye waye to shoote streighte, yea and, I suppose, so redye and easye a waye, if it be learned in youth, and confirmed with use, that a man shall never misse therein. Men doubt yet in loking at the mark what way is best, whether betwixt the bowe and the stringe, above or beneath his hande, and many wayes mo: yet it maketh no greate matter which waye a man loke at his marke, if it be joyned with comelye shootinge. The diversity of mens standing and drawing causeth divers men loke at their marke divers wayes; yet they all leade a mans hande to shoote streight, if nothing els stoppe. So that cumlynesse is the onelye judge of best lokinge at the marke. Some men wonder whye, in castinge a mans eye at the marke, the hande should go streighte: surelye if he considered the nature of a mans eye, he would not wonder.

der at it: for this I am certaine of, that no seruaunt to his maister, no childe to his father, is so obedient, as everye joynte and peece of the bodye is to do whatsoever the eye biddes. The eye is the guide, the ruler and the succourer of all the other partes. The hande, the foote, and other members, dare do nothinge withoute the eye, as doth appear on the night and darcke corners. The eye is the very tongue wherewith witte and reason doth speake to everye parte of the bodye, and the witte doth not so soon signifye a thinge by the eye, as every part is redye to folowe, or rather prevent the biddinge of the eye. This is plaine in manye thinges, but most evident in fence and feighting, as I have heard men saye. There everye parte standinge in feare to have a blowe, runnes to the eye for helpe, as younge children do to the mother; the foote, the hande, and all wayteth upon the eye. If the eye bid the hand eyther bear of or smite, or the foote eyther go forward, or backward, it doth so; and that which is most wonder of all, the one man lokinge stedfastly at the other mans eye, and not at his hand, will, even as it were, rede in his eye where he purposeth to smyte next, for the eye is nothing els but a certaine window for wit to shoote out her heade at.

This wonderfull worke of God in makinge all the members so obedient to the eye, is a pleasant thinge to remember and loke upon; therefore an archer may be sure, in learninge to loke at his marke when he is younge, alwayes to shoote streighe. The thinges that hinder a man which loketh at his marke, to shoote streight, be these: a fyde winde, a bowe eyther to stronge, or els to weake, an ill arme, when a fether runneth on the bowe to much, a bigge brested shafte, for him that shooteth under hande, because it will hobble; a litle brested shafte for him that shooteth above the hande, because it will starte; a payre of windinge prickes, and many other thinges mo, which you shall marke yourselfe, and as ye know them, so learne to amende them. If a man would leave to loke at his shaft, and learne to loke at his marke, he maye use this waye, which a good shooter told me ones that he did. Let him take his bowe on the night, and shoot at two lightes, and there he shall be compelled to looke alwayes at his marke, and never at his shafte: this thinge, ones or twise used, will cause him forsake loking at his shafte. Yet let him take heede of setting his shafte in the bowe.

Thus,

Thus, *Philologe*, to shoote streight is the least maisterye of all, if a mau order himselfe thereafter in his youthe. And as for kepinge a length, I am sure, the rules which I gave you will never deceyve you ; so that there shall lacke nothing, eyther of hittinge the marke alwayes, or els verye neare shootinge, except the faulte be onlye in youre owne selfe, which may come two wayes, eyther in having a fainte harte, or courage, or els in sufferinge yourselfe overmuch to be ledde with affection : if a mans minde fayle him, the bodye, which is ruled by the minde, can never do his dutye, if lacke of courage were not, men might do mo maistries than they do, as doth appeare in leapinge and vaultinge.

All affections, and especiallye anger, hurteth both minde and body. The minde is blinde thereby, and, if the minde be blinde, it cannot rule the bodye arighte. The bodye, both bloude and bone, as they saye, is brought out of his right course by anger : whereby a man lacketh his righte strength, and therefore cannot shoote well. If these thinges be avoyded (whereof I will speake no more, both because they belonge not properlye to shootinge, and also you can teache me better in them than I you) and all the preceptes which I have given you diligentlye marked, no doubt ye shall shoote as well as ever man did yet, by the grace of God.

This communication handled of me, *Philologe*, as I know well not perfitelye, yet, as I suppose trulye, you must take in good worthe, wherein, if divers thinges do not altogether please you, thancke your selfe, which woulde have me rather faulte in mere follye, to take that thinge in hande, which I was not able for to perfourme ; than by any honest shamefastnesse with-saye your request and minde, which I knowe well I have not satisfyed. But yet I will thincke this labour of myne the better bestowed, if to-morrowe, or some other daye when you have leysure, you will spende as much time with me here in this same place, in entreating the question *De origine animæ*, and the joyninge of it with the bodye, that I maye knowe howe farre *Plato*, *Aristotle*, and the *Stoicians* have waded in it.

PHI. Howe you have handeled this matter, *Toxophile*, I maye not well tell you myselfe now, but, for your gentlenesse and good will towardes
learninge

learninge and shootinge, I will be content to shewe you anye pleasure whensoever you will; and nowe the sunne is downe, therefore, if it please you, we will go home and drinke in my chamber, and there I will tell you plainlye what I thincke of this communication, and also what daye we will appointe, at your request, for the other matter to meete here againe.

The End of the SCHOLE of SHOOTINGE.

T H E

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* DIVÆ ELIZABETHÆ,

Most Excellent Princes, &c. &c.

THE unlearned persons hath perfitlie learned this lesson, that no one matter maketh more difference betwixt man and man, than doth learninge. And thoughe learninge bringe to everie Learninge kinde of man (who godlie doth use it) the trewest pleasur, the surest profet, the greatest praise, that can be either gotten in earth, or given from heaven, (heaven itself onelie excepted) yet is not learninge more fitte and necessarie to any other person, than it is to a Prince. For Learninge we subjectes are, by dewtie, and oughte to be by reason, obeyers and most neces- folowers: and so as scholers and learners: You Princes are, in dignitie, farie for Princes. and ought to be in worthinesse, commanders and leaders, and therefore as masters and teachers. And how shall he lead an other, that can not go himself: or what shall he teache, that nothinge hath learned? But, how happie be we, that have a Prince who knoweth full well, that that Prince is unhappie for himself, and all his, who knoweth nothing, but by another mans head: nor must see nothing, but by other mens eyes: nor will hear nothing, but by other mennes eares: nor can speak nothing, but by an other mans tonge. Such a monster, without heade, eyes, ears, and tonge, were mervelus to be seene, more perilus to be had, but most perilus to be made keaper of others. And Xenoph. in yet was he a verie wise man, that made this the verie figure of an un- απομνημ.

* This letter to Queen *Elizabeth* is now first published from a manuscript.

Ps. 2°.

The deformitie and hurte of ignorance, the cumlines and good of learning in a Prince, is well set out, as your Majestie well knoweth, in *Xenophon*, and *Isocrates*: but yet no otherwise, then like a well painted image, without sense, without life, in comparifon of that livelie voice and tromp of the HOLIE GHOSTE, founding dailie in everie good Christian Princes eares, *Nunc reges intelligite: Erudimini qui judicatis terram*; and that joyned with a terrible fore threate, *Ne forte irascatur Dominus, et pereatis de via justa*.

Some would
have Princes
not learned:

David, the
best teacher
of Princes.

Ps. 44.

Some, supposed wise men, would not have Princes learned: but proude is theyr wisdom, that will nedes be wiser then the HOLIE GHOSTE: and such is theyr wisdom, that would fill their owne coffers by the folie of theyr Prince. Therefor, let no good Prince be ashamed of good learninge, and namelie of Gods learninge, seeinge God himself doth will them thereunto, and that by the voice of such a teacher, as a Prince, be he never so greate, never so wise, may wel enoughe become his scholar. For this teacher, was not onlie a Kinge himself, but the best Kinge, and best learned Kinge, that ever God made Kinge upon earthe. And he was brought up in that schole, where the HOLIE GHOSTE himfelfe was master: and he such a doer and woorker in that schole, as his hand and tonge was his Master's chiefest pen, and style, as he witnesseth in plain wordes himself, *Lingua mea calamus scribæ velociter scribentis*. This Kinge was also, nighest in authoritie, and highest in favore, with God, Kinge of all Kinges: for, what Kinge, or man else, hard ever so frendelie a worde from Gods owne mowthe, *Inveni virum secundum cor meum*: Howe oft doth God saye in Scripture, I will do so, and I will not do so, for my servant *David* sake? How happie is that Prince, of whom God will speake so? but how more happie is that Prince and all his too, for whom God will do so? And therefore, what a comfort is it to a godlie Prince, to learne of such a teacher: to folowe such a guide: to reade his life: to see his actes: to have his counsel always at hand, not onlie for the best civil government over his people, but for his owne private life betwixte him and God.

The best
commentarie
for Davides
Psalmes.

It is most true that St. *Hierome* sayth: that every mannes owne conscience is the best commentarie, to understand, with most profet, the Psalmes of *David*: for benefites to give thanks: for offences to ask pardon: for miserie to seeke comfort: for injurie to praie aid. For,

no man can reade *David's* Psalmes attentiflie, but he shall see all his owne faultes, all his owne necessities, all his outward deedes, all his inward thoughtes, set before his eyes.

And yet is it as trewe, that the thoughtes and sayinges of *David*, being a Prince, cannot be neither so properlye applied, nor so deeplye understood, by any other person, as by a Prince. For, the like state and dignitie, the like charge and authoritie, do breed like thoughtes, like purposes, like counsell'es, like actes, like eventes. Private persones feelee not commonlie the thoughts of Princes. Fewe servantes in common families have like thoughtes with the meanest masters. Therefore, such as be likest *David*, in life, affaires, state, and dignitie, maye have the likest thoughtes, and use the likest talke with God, that *David* had.

A Prince, no private person can run thoroughlie oute, the hole course of *David's* life: as, to begin his yonge yeares in Gods feare: to passe throughe troubles and cares, periles and dangers: by injuries of greatest enemies: by unkindnes of nearest frendes: by false surmises: by wronge imprisonmentes: by daylie threat'es, and feare of deathe into safety of life, were benefites of God to *David*, being a private man, common also to many other goode private men. But, to be caryed, from such private miserie, up to princelie state and felicitie, is onelie the dealing of God with such Princes, who are speciallie regarded of God, as *David* was, and commit themselves hollie and onelie to God, as *David* did.

The race of
Kinge *Da-*
vides life.

And how did God deale with *David* when he had made him a King? First, he saw the fall of all his enemies: and all their ungodlie race and bloodie faction rooted oute. And though God put into his hand the life of all those that cruellie before had sought for his deathe, yet not any his private revenge for private injuries, but Gods open punishment, brought them all under his feete. God gave him glorious victories, over all outward enemies: and speedie * meetinges with all inward conspiracies: and after blessed him with a quiet government, and gave him *requiem circumquaque ab universis inimicis ejus*, with happy dayes, with an obedient people: where common justice was duely executed, and private righte to every man defended: all craftie *Achitophels* removed

Reg. 2°. 7°.

* To meet with, in the language of that age, was to oppose, to counteract, to repress.

out:

out of place, and good, wife, and quiet *Chusaies* bearing greatest authority.

These blessings of God to King *David* were greater, but there followed far greater, both for the comfort of himselfe, and the happiness of his subjects: for he heard of Gods own mouth, *Thine owne seate shall sit in thy seate*, which is the greatest comfort can come to a good Prince, and the joyfullest felicitie that a good Prince can leave to his subjects.

And so *David*, made King by Gods goodness, made also, not onely his present time happy, but his posterity also blessed. And therefore was *David*, a Prince, of himself most worthy, to others most happy: whose doings for his posterity, as thousands unborne were bound to bless, so all that heare of it, are driven to praise: the worthiest example for all good Princes to followe, that ever God set before Princes eyes.

Most noble Princess, and my best Ladie and Mistres, I ofte thinking of this race of *Davides* life; of his former miseries, of his later felicities, of Gods dealing with him in all pointes, to bring happiness to his present tyme, and safety to his posterity, have had, for many like causes, many like thoughtes, even of the like life and state of your Majesty.

And therefor, moved by good will, as your trewe servant, and caried by dewtie, as a faithful subject, and bound by many benefites of your most bountiful goodnes towards me, and speciallie because it pleased your Highnesse, this last year, not onely by your letters and commandement to the Courte of the Exchequer, but also by your owne present talke with my L. Archeb. of *York*, clearlie to deliver me, first, from the miserie of those long, careful, and costelie troubles of the lawe: and after, from the injurie, that some would have offered me, in surprising your Majestyes benefite from me, I thought good to offer to your Highnesse this book, with this letter, as a trewe servante doth in *Euripides*, to a most noble Queen, when he gave unto her the like token of good will, for the like delivery out of troubles and care: sayinge then, for no juster cause, nor with better hart, than I do now to your Majestye,

ΑΛΛ'

Αλλ' ὦ φίλη δέσποινα εὐμένως δέχου,
 Φίλον φίλα μνημόσυνον ἐκδικουμένου.

And to offer this book of Scripture unto your Majestie, before any other, good reason, I suppose, doth move me. For though all Scripture, as the Apostle saith, is written for all mens teachinge, yet some peece is fitter to one person than another, to reade, for themselves, by themselves, privately alone. As the *Book of Wisdom*, the *Proverbs of Solomon*, *Jesus Sirach*, for all men both learned and * lewde. *Leviticus*, *Numeri*, the *Songes of Solomon*, *Daniel*, the *Apocalips*, and such like, chiefly for deepe learned men, and not for every fonde heade, and curious spirit. The book of *Judges*, the *Preacher of Solomon*, for civil governors in common offices, for masters and fathers in private families. But the books of *Samuel* and the rest of the *Kinges*, speciallie for all good *Kinges* and *Princes*.

This volume conteneth two books: the first, the life of *Saul*, the image of an ill Prince, the deformed face of a miserable kingdom, where God and his goodnesse is forgotten, Gods voice not hard, right religion perverted, trewe sacrifices, either quite left off, or coldlie observed, God worshipped, as *Saul* listed, not as God prescribed, good *Samuel* despised, his counsel derided, *Baals* prestes borne withall, and openlie authorised, hill altars erected, spiritual fornication with *Ægypte* and *Babylon* every where ocupied. Thus *Saul*, first halving with God, (as when God gave *Amalec* into his hand) then halting in religion, and at laste, quite falling from God and religion both, and flying to *Baal* and develishe forcerie, brought his own state to utter destruction, and his kingdom to extreme miserie. For the contempte of God and religion brought his common-welthe to utter ruin, as it hath, and will do, all other kingdomes. And in what order? or rather, by what misorder? Surelie, by these steppes and degrees, all went downward, wilful lust shut up all order of justice; open injurie oppressed good men. *David* was untrewelie suspected, and cruellie persecuted: vain and ill men bare greatest swinge, good *Jonathan* onelie excepted, placed in courte by Gods providence, for *Davides* and other good mennes comfort. And thus, lust and vanitie secretlie within, injustice and mischief openlie abroad, went with full tyde and winde, in *Saules* kingdom and courte, untill the blast of Gods wrathe overwhelmed all up set downe: first by

Saul and his
 kingdom.

1^o Reg.
 28^o.

* *Lewd* is *lay*, or *popular*.

all plagues at home, then by a strange nation, theyr neybor, the old enemy of *Israel*; by whose invasion and cruel sworde, *Saul* losse his state, losse his life, dispossessed his owne seede, undid his posteritie, and left his kingdom to a strange familie. This historie, for the miserie, is dreedfull to be hard, but for the example and warning, profitable for all good Princes, dailie to reade, and advisedlie to marke.

David and
his king-
dom.

The second booke conteneth the life of *David*, the image of a good Prince, a faire picture of a flourishing state and happie time, when God was alwayes in mynde, and his former benefites, his former deliveries from danger of deathe, never utterlie forgotten, Gods owne religion maintained, Gods voice onelie hard; Gods own sacrifices, as God himself appointed, earnestlie observed, good *Nathan* highlie revered, his advice never refused, his free tonge, his hevie message from God, neyther then rebuked with wordes, nor after revenged with deedes, but, by and by, most humbly aunswered, with *Ego peccavi domino*: and therefore *David* hard joyfullie againe, *Et Dominus transtulit peccatum tuum, non morieris*. *Baal* and *Dagon*, and all theyr prestes, were utterlie banished. All hill aultars fullie rooted oute, all idolatrie and superstition of *Ægypte* and *Babylon* cleane forsaken. Thus *David*, by fearing, serving, and holdinge himself fast by God and his religion, and though he sometymes fallinge, yet not perverfedlie cleavinge to wilfulness, but meeklie acknowledginge his owne wickednesse, not frowardlie lyinge still, but speedelie risinge up at Gods callinge, brought his own state to hiest dignitie, and his people to greatest felicitie. And in the ende, had this joyfull blessinge from Gods owne mouthe, by *Nathans* message, which all trewe *Englishe* harts dailie do praye, that God will send the same unto your Majestie; *Excitabo semen tuum postea, quod egredietur de utero tuo, et regnum seminis tui perpetuo firmabo*. Whereunto, I trust God, your Majesty, and all good men, will most gladlie, with hart and hand, say all, *Amen*.

2 Reg.

The image of these two Princes lives, the one good, the other bad, and Gods present dealing with them both, is a marvelous picture for all men to look upon, yea, though they be but private persones, and onelie standers by: but most necessarie for all Princes to marke and muse upon, if eyther the dreedful feare of Gods wrathe, or the joyful hope of Gods favor, do any thing touch theyr hartes. And theyr hartes,
of

of all other, oughte chieflie to be touched with both: for though God be *Scrutator cordium omnium hominum*, yet it is spoken for the hie prerogative of Princes, *Corda regum in manu Dei sunt*: that is to say, God immediately, by himselfe governeth, and with his present eye beholdeth, the deedes and thoughtes of Princes. This is no opinion of philosophie, but the trothe of Gods own doctrine, and that so certaine and sensible a trothe, as there is no Prince, be he never so good, never so bad, but his owne conscience doth daily and hourlie beare good witnesse to the same. And trothe also it is, that, as theyr dignitie is hiest, so is the burden of theyr charge heaviest, and therefore the care for theyr accompte oughte to be greatest, and for this cause to, a greate deale the greater, because no man, but God onelie, must be the auditor thereof.

But how delt God with *Saul*? God gave unto *Saul*, an ill King, great and many blessings, a comlie stature of bodie: faire qualities of the mynde: he hard of *Samuels* mouthe, *Quia Dominus tecum est*; and, *in manu tua liberabit Deus Israel*. And yet, at the last, he hard again of *Samuel*, *Stultus factus es*: and after, this fore threate, *Jam non erit firmum regnum tuum*: and that with the plaine cause why, *Quia abjecisti verbum Domini, Dominus abjecit te*. And so, in the ende, Gods hie giftes, not thankfullie remembered, but ungodlie used, turned all to *Saules* greater destruction.

On the other side, *David*, a good King, was tossed with all miseries, by danger of forest injuries, by grieve of greatest unkindnes; yet all such mishaps, patientlie taken at Gods hand, and the deliverie from them by God, never forgotten by *David*, turned all to *Davides* greatest felicitie. But *David* was wrapte in a stranger case and kinde of miserie: for when God had shewed him his greatest favor, and had given him the hiest benefites that man in earth could receive, yet God suffered him to fall into the deepest pitte of wickednes; to committe the cruellest murder, and shamefullest adultrie, that ever did man upon earthe. Whereinto he did not stumble by ignorance, nor slide by weaknesse, nor onelie fall by wilfulnesse, but went to it advisedlie, purposing all * practises, and finding out all fetches that mischief could imagine, to

* *Practice*, in the language of our author's age, was commonly taken in an ill sense, for wicked acts, or unlawful stratagems.

bring mischief to passe. Yet though *David* had shaken from him Gods feare, yet God had not taken from *David* his grace. For, when God did knock, *David* did open: when *Nathan* said boldlie, *Tu fecisti malum coram Domino*, *David* answered humblie, *Ipse peccavi Domino*. And so, * out of this foule matter, is gathered the fairest example, and best lesson, both for Prince and private man, that is in all Scripture; for the hiest and best, alwayes to beware; for the meanest and worst never to dispare; and that, with a marvelous note of King *David*s singular good nature, who was angrie with himselfe, for ill doinge, and not with good *Nathan*, for trewe speakinge.

But your Majesty, in reading the hole course of this holie historie, shall better judge of all these pointes, and many other mo, if it may please you to reade with all, these learned commentaries of *P. Martyr*, who beside the expressing of this storie, and opening all hard doubtles thereof, hath godlie and learnedlie, as a man of greate experience and deepe judgement, decided many notable common places, belonginge speciallie to the good order of civil government, and therefore verie fitte for the knowledge of all good Princes.

And therefore was I verie willinge to offer this booke to your Majesty, wherein, as in a faire glasse, your Majesty shall see and acknowledge, by Gods dealinges with *David*, even verie many like good dealinges of God with your Majesty; and thereby finde yourself bounde, both daily to saye with *David*, *Quid retribuam Domino pro omnibus que tribuit mihi*; and also to promise and performe with *David*, *Benedicam Dominum in omni tempore, et semper laus ejus in ore meo*. And so, doing as *David* did, heare from God, as *David* hard, *Inveni mulierem secundum cor meum*: and in the ende have as *David* had, that is, most prosperitie, and surest felicitie, for you, youres, and youre posteritie. God bleffe your Majestie with all felicitie, and send you, with many long yeares, all harts ease.

xxx°. OCTOB.
M. D. LXVI°.

Your Majesties
Most bounden, and
Faithfull Servante,

R. A S C H A M.

* This had been a very proper admonition after the execution of Queen *Mary* of Scotland.

T H E
S C H O L E M A S T E R ;

Or plaine and perfite Way of teaching Children, to understand, write, and speake, the LATIN TONGE, but specially purposed for the private bringing up of Youth in Jentlemen and Noblemens Houses, and commodious also for all such as have forgot the LATIN TONGE, and would, by themselves, without a Scholemaster, in short Tyme, and with small Paines, recover a sufficient Habilitie, to understand, write, and speake LATIN.

By R O G E R A S C H A M.

Anno 1571.

A T L O N D O N,

Printed by JOHN DAYE, dwelling over ALDERSGATE.

Cum Gratia & Privilegio Regiæ Majestatis, per Decennium.

SCHOOL MASTER

Or plains and paths way of teaching children to read
hand, write, and figure, the Latin tongue, the French
method for the private families up of 17th century
and 18th century schools, and contained a set of all sorts
as have forgot the Latin tongue, and would be
without a schoolmaster, in short, young men, who
cannot recover a sufficient knowledge in reading, writing
and speak Latin.

BY ROGER ASCHAM

Anno 1570

AT LONDON

Printed by JOHN DAVE, dwelling over Aldersgate

Cur. Gratia & Privilegio Regie Majestatis per Decretum

To the Honorable Sir WILLIAM CECILL,
Knight, principal Secretary to the Quenes Most
Excellent Majesty.

SUNDRY and reasonable be the causes why learned men have used to offer and dedicate such workes as they put abroad, to some such personage as they thinke fittest, eyther in respect of abilitie of defense, or skill for judgement, or private regard of kindnesse and dutie. Every one of those considerations, Sir, move me of right to offer this my late husbands, M. ASCHAMS worke unto you. For well remembryng how much all good learnyng oweth unto you for defence thereof, as the Universtie of *Cambrige*, of which my said late husband was a member, have, in chosing you theyr worthy chauncellor, acknowledged; and how happily you have spent your time in such studies, and caried the use thereof to the right ende, to the good service of the Quenes Majesty, and your countrey, to all our benefites; thyrdly, how much my sayd husband was many wayes bound unto you, and how gladly and comfortably he used in his life to recognise and report your goodnesse toward him, leavyng with me, then his poore widow, and a great * sort of orphanes, a good comfort in the hope of your good continuance, which I have truly found to me and myne, and therefore do duely and dayly pray for you and yours: I could not finde any man for whose name this booke was more agreeable for hope of protection, more mete for submission to judgement, nor more due for respect of worthinesse of your part, and thankfulnessse of my husbandes and myne. Good I trust it shall do, as I am put in great hope by many very well learned that can well judge thereof. Mete therefore I compt it that such good as my husband was able to do and leave to the common-weale, it should be

* Sort is train, company, number.

received under your name, and that the world should owe thanke thereof to you, to whom my husband, the authour of it, was, for good receyved of you, most dutifully bounden. And so besechyng you, to take on you the defence of this booke, to advance the good that may come of it by your allowance and furtherance, to publicke use and benefite, and to accept the thankful recognition of me and my poore children, trustyng of the continuance of your good memorie of M. ASCHAM and his, and dayly commending the prosperous estate of you and yours to God, whom you serve, and whole you are, I rest to trouble you.

Your humble

MARGARET ASCHAM.

A P R E F A C E to the R E A D E R.

WHEN the great plague was at *London*, the yeare 1563, the Queenes Majestie Queen *Elizabeth* lay at her castle of *Windsore*: where, upon the 10th day of *December* *, it fortun'd, that, in Sir *William Cicells* chamber, her Highnesse principal Secretarie, there dined together these personages, M. Secretarie himselfe, Sir *William Peter*, Sir *J. Mason*, D. *Wotton*, Sir *Richard Sackville* Treasurer of the Exchequer, Sir *Walter Mildmaye* Chauncellor of the Exchequer, M. *Haddon* Master of Requestes, M. *John Astely* Master of the Jewell-House, M. *Bernard Hampton*, † M. *Nicasius*, and I. Of which number, the most part were of her Majesties Most Honourable Privie Counsell, and the rest serving her in very good place. I was glad then, and do rejoyce yet to remember, that my chance was so happie to be there that day, in the companie of so manie wise and good men together, as hardly then could have beene piked out againe out of all *Englande* besides.

M. Secretarie hath this accustomed maner, though his head be never so full of most weightie affaires of the realme, yet, ‡ at dinner time he doth seem to lay them always aside: and findeth ever fitte occasion to taulke pleasantlie of other matters, but most gladlie of some matter of learning: wherein he will curteslie heare the minde of the meanest at his table.

Not long after our fitting doune, “ I have strange newes brought me, M. Secre-
“ sayth M. Secretarie, this morning, that diverse scholers of *Eaton* be tarie.

* This was about five years before the author's death; for he died the 30th of *December* in the year 1568, in the 53d year of his age.

† *Nicasius* was a Greek of *Constantinople*, who came into *England* in the time of Queen *Elizabeth*, partly to propose an agreement between the Greek church and that of this nation; and partly to collect what charity he could for the poor distressed Christians of his own country.

‡ Thus *Crassus*: “ Eo autem omni sermone confecto, tantam in *Crasso* humanitatem
“ fuisse, ut cum lauti accubissent, tolleretur omnis illa superioris tristitia sermonis, eaque
“ esset in homine jucunditas, et tantus in jocando lepos, ut dies inter eos *Curiae* fuisse vide-
“ retur, convivium *Tusculani*.” *Cicero de Orat.*

"runne away from the schole, for feare of beating." Whereupon, M. Secretarie took occasion to wishe, that some more discretion were in many scholemasters, in using correction, than commonlie there is: who many times punishe rather the weaknes of nature, than the fault of the scholer. Whereby many scholers, that might else prove well, be driven to hate learning, before they knowe what learning meaneth: and so are made willing to forsake their booke, and be glad to be put to any other kinde of living.

- M. Peter. M. *Peter*, as one somewhat severe of nature, said plainlie, "That the
rodde onelie was the sworde, that must keepe the schole in obedience,
M. Wotton. "and the scholer in good order." M. *Wotton*, a man milde of nature,
with soft voice and fewe wordes, inclined to M. Secretaries judgment,
and said, "In mine opinion, the schole-house should be in deede, as
Ludus literarius. "it is called by name, * the house of play and pleasure, and not of feare
and bondage: and as I do remember, so saith † *Socrates* in one place of
Plato de Rep. "Plato. And therefore, if a rodde carie the feare of a sworde, it is
"no marville, if those that be fearfull of nature, chose rather to for-
"ake the place, than to stande alwayes within the feare of a sworde
"in a ‡ fonde mans handling." M. *Mason*, after his maner, was verie
M. Mason. merie with both parties, pleasantlie playing, both with the shrewde
touches of many curste boyes, and with the small discretion of many
M. Haddon. ** leude scholemasters. M. *Haddon* was fullie of M. *Peters* opinion, and
said, "That the best scholemaster of our time was the || greatest beater,"
and

* *Grajo Schola nomine diēta est,*
Iusta laboriferis tribuantur ut otia musis. Ausonius Edyll. 4.

† The Passage, to which the Dean of *Canterbury* here refers, is in *Plato's* 7th book of his *Repub.* not far from the end, and is afterwards cited by Mr. *Ascham*. I shall here transcribe it somewhat more fully for the reader's satisfaction. Τα μὲν τοίνυν λογισμῶν τε καὶ γεωμετριῶν, καὶ πάσης τῆς προπαιδείας, ἣν τῆς Διαλεκτικῆς δεῖ προπαιδευθῆναι, παισὶν ὅσι χρὴ προβάλλειν, ἔχ' ὥς ἐπ' ἀνάγκης μαθεῖν τὸ σχῆμα τῆς διδασκαλίας ποιούμενης. Τί δὴ; "Οἱ (ἦν δ' ἐγὼ) ὁδὸν μάθημα μέλα δαλίας τὸν ἐλεόθερον χρὴ μαθάνειν. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῷ σώματι πόντοι, βία πονέμενοι, χεῖρον οὐδὲν τὸ σῶμα ἀπεργάζονται. Ψυχῇ δὲ βίαιον ὁδὸν ἔμμεν μάθημα. Ἀληθῆ, ἔφη. Μὴ τοίνυν βία (εἶπον) ὧ ἄρισε, τὴν παιδα ἐν τοῖς μαθήμασιν, ἀλλὰ παίζοντες τρέφε, ἵνα καὶ μᾶλλον οἷός τ' ᾦς καθορᾶν ἐφ' ὃ ἕκαστος πέφυκε.

‡ *Fond*, is *foolish*.

** *Lewd* originally signified *lay*, not clerical, thence *unlearned*, thence grofs of manners, savage, lastly libidinous.

|| This was *Nic. Udal*, master of *Eaton* school, whom *Bale* styles *El-gantissimus omnium bonarum literarum magister, et earum felicissimus interpres*: In the appendix I have given

and named the person. "Though," quoth I, "it was his good fortune to send from his scholl unto the university *one of the best scholars indeede of all our time, yet wise men do thincke, that that came so to passe, rather by the great towardnesse of the scholer, than by the great beating of the master; and whether this be true or no, you yourselfe are best witnesse." I said somewhat further in the matter, how and why yong children were soner allured by love, than driven by beating, to attayne good learning: wherein I was the bolder to say my minde, because M. Secretarie courteslie provoked me thereunto, or else, in such a companie, and namelie in his presence, my wonte is, to be more willing to use mine eares than to occupy my tonge.

The author
of this booke.

Sir *Walter Mildmaye*, M. *Astely*, and the rest, said verie litle; onelie Sir *Rich. Sackville* said nothing at all. After dinner I went up to read with the Queenes Majestie. We red then together in the Greeke tonge, as I well remember, that noble oration of *Demosthenes* against *Æschines*, for his false dealing in his ambassage to King *Philip* of *Macedonie*. Sir *Rich. Sackville* came up sone after: and finding me in her Majesties privy chamber, he tooke me by the hand, and carying me to a windoe, said, "M. *Ascham*, I would not for a good deale of monie have been, this day, absent from dinner. Where, though I said nothing, yet I gave as good eare, and do consider as well the taulke that passed, as

Sir R. Sack-
villes com-
munication
with the au-
thor of this
booke.

a specimen of Mr. *Udal's* elegancy both in verse and prose. His severity his own scholar, Mr. *Tusser*, has sufficiently proclaimed in these lines:

*From Pauls I went, to Eaton sent,
To learn straightways the Latin phrase;
Where fifty three stripes given to me
At once I had:
For fault but small, or none at all,
It came to pass, thus beat I was:
See Udal, see the mercy of thee
To me poor lad.*

* This was Mr. *Haddon*, sometime fellow of *King's college* in *Cambridge*, very much complimented by all the learned men of that age; and of whom Queen *Elizabeth*, upon some comparison made betwixt him and *Buchanan*, thus gave her opinion; *Buchananum omnibus antepono: Haddonum nemini postpono.*

His works are collected into one volume, and published by Dr. *Hatcher*, to whose care and diligence we owe the catalogue of our society. I have thought proper to print one of his speeches, which he made to the scholars of *Eaton*, that something of his great abilities may be known.

C c

" any

" any one did there. M. Secretarie said very wisely, and most truly, that
 " many yong wittes be driven to hate learninge, before they know what
 " learninge is. I can be good witness to this my selfe: for a fond schole-
 " master, before I was fullie fourtene yeare olde, drave me so, with fear of
 " beating, from all love of learninge, as nowe, when I know what diffe-
 " rence it is to have learninge, and to have little, or none at all, I feele it
 " my greatest griefe, and find it my greatest hurte, that ever came to me,
 " that it was my so ill chance to light upon so lewde a scholemaster. But
 " seeing it is but in vain to lament thinges paste, and also wisdom to
 " looke to thinges to come, furelie, God willing, if God lend me life, I
 " will make this my mishap, some occasion of good hap to litle * *Robert*
 " *Sackville*, my sonnes sonne; for whose bringinge up I would gladlie,
 " if it so please you, use speciallie your good advice. I heare say, you
 " have a sonne much of his age: we will deale thus together: Point
 " you out a scholemaster, who, by your order, shall teache my sonne
 " and yours, and for all the rest I will provide, yea though they three
 " do cost me a couple of hundred poundes by year; and besides you shall
 " find me as fast a friend to you and yours, as perchance any you have."
 Which promise the worthie Gentleman furelie kept with me untill his
 dying daye.

The chief
 pointes of
 this booke.

We had then further taulke together, of bringing up of children: of the nature of quicke and hard wittes: of the right choice of a good witte: of fear and love in teaching children. We passed from children and came to younge men, namely, Gentlemen: we taulked of their too much liberty to live as they lust; of their letting louse to sone to overmuch experience of ill, contrarie to the good order of many good olde common wealthes of the *Persians* and *Greekes*: of witte gathered, and good fortune gotten by some, onely by experience, without learninge: and lastlie, he required of me very earnestlie, to shewe, what I thought of the common goinge of *Englishemen* into *Italie*. " But, sayth he, because this place, and this tyme, will not suffer so long taulke, as these good matters require, therefore I praye you, at my request, and at your leysure, put in some order of writing, the chiefe pointes of this our taulke, concerning the right order of teachinge, and honesty

* This great care of the treasurer's in the education of his two grandsons, my Lord *Clarendon* has likewise taken notice of in the first book of his history.

" of living, for the good bringing up of children, and yong men. And
 " surelie, beside contenting me, you shall both please and profit very
 " many others." I made some excuse by lacke of habilitie, and weake-
 " nesse of bodie: " Well, saith he, I am not now to learne what you
 " can do. Our dear friende, † good Mr. *Goodricke*, whose judgement I
 " could well believe, did once for all satisfie me fullie therein. Againe,
 " I heard you say, not long ago, that you may thanke Sir *John Cbeke*
 " for all the learninge you have: and I know very well myselfe that
 " you did teach the Queene. And therefore, seeing God did so blesse
 " you to make you the scholer of the best master, and also the schole-
 " master of the best scholer, that ever were in our time, surelie you
 " should please God, benefite your countrie, and honest your own
 " name, if you would take the paines to impart to others, what you
 " learned of such a master, and how ye taught such a scholer. And,
 " in uttering the stufte ye received of the one, in declaring the order
 " ye tooke with the other, ye shall never lacke neither matter nor ma-
 " ner, what to write, nor how to write, in this kind of argument."

I beginning some further excuse, sodainlie was called to come to the
 Queene. The night following I slept little, my head was so full of this
 our former talke, and I so mindfull somewhat to satisfie the honest re-
 quest of so deare a friend. I thought to prepare some little treatise, for
 a new years gift, that *Christmas*. But, as it chaunceth to busie builders,
 so, in building this my poor schole-house (the rather because the form
 of it is somewhat new, and differing from others) the work rose dailie
 higher and wider, than I thought it would at the beginninge.

And though it appear now, and be in very deede, but a small co-
 tage, poore for the stufte, and rude for the workmanship, yet, in go-
 ing forward, I found the site so good, as I was lothe to give it over, but
 the making so costlie, outreaching my habilitie, as many times I wished,
 that some one of those three, my deare friendes, with full purses, Sir
Thomas Smithe, M. *Haddon*, or M. *Watson*, had had the doing of it.
 Yet, neverthelesse, I myselfe spending gladly that little that I gatte at
 home by good Sir *John Cbeke*, and that that I borrowed abroad of my

† Bishop of *Ely*, and Lord Chancellor in King *Edward's* reign.

friend *Sturmius*, beside somewhat that was left me in reversion by my olde masters, *Plato*, *Aristotle*, and *Cicero*, I have at last patched it up, as I could, and as you see. If the matter be mean, and meanly handled, I pray you beare both with me and it: for never worke went up in worse wether, with mo lettes and stoppes, than this poore schole-house of mine. * *Westminster-Hall* can bear some witnesse, beside † much weaknesse of bodie, but more trouble of minde by some such sores, as grieve me to touche them myselfe, and therefore I propose not to open them to others. And, in middes of outward injuries and inward cares, to encrease them withall, ‡ good Sir *Richard Sackville* dieth, that worthie Gentleman; that earnest favourer and furtherer of Gods true religion; that faithful servitor to his Prince and countrie: a lover of learning, and all learned men; wise in all doinges; curtesse to all persons; shewing spite to none; doing good to many; and, as I well found, to me so fast a friend, as I never lost the like before. When he was gone, my hart was dead. There was not one that wore a black gown for him, who carried a heavier hart for him than I. When he was gone, I cast this booke awaie; I could not look upon it, but with weeping eyes, in remembering him, who was the onelie setter on to do it; and would have beene, not onlie a glad commender of it, but also a sure and certaine comfort to me and mine for it. Almost two years together, this booke lay scattered and neglected, and had beene quite given over of me, if the goodnesse of one had not given me some life and spirite againe. God, the mover of goodnesse, prosper alwaies him and his, as he hath many times comforted me and mine; and, I trust to God, shall comfort more and more. Of whom, most justly I may say, and verie oft, and alwaies gladlie,

Sir William
Cicill.

* That he was unhappily engaged in law appears from Dr. *Haddon* to his friend Sir *Thomas Smith*, resident in *France*. "Scio illum utriusque nostrum esse studiosissimum, et audio ipsum hoc tempore litibus juris permolestè exerceri."

† "Ingravescente jam ætate, à nocturnis & pomeridianis studiis abhorrebat: Antelucanis & matutinis temporibus legebat, commentabatur, studebat, scribebat. Erat corpore imbecillis, & valetudinarius, multis morbis fractus, continentibus febribus correptus, variis ægrotationibus afflictus; quæ paucis ante mortem annis eum in hecticam febrim conjece- runt." This is taken out of Mr. *Grant's* excellent oration.

‡ Sir *Richard Sackville* died the same day that Sir *John Mason* did, in the year 1566, and in the eighth of Queen *Elizabeth*, two years before Mr. *Ascham's* death.

I am wont to say, that sweet verse of *Sophocles*, spoken by * *Oedipus* to worthy *Theseus*,

Ἐχῶ γὰρ αἰ ἔχω διὰ σέ, καὶ ἄλλον βροτῶν.

Soph. in
Oed. Col.

This hope hath helped me to end this booke: which, if he allowe, I shall thinke my labours well employed, and shall not much esteeme the misliking of any others. And I trust, he shall thinke the better of it, because he shall finde the best part thereof to come out of his schole, whom he, of all men, loved and liked best.

Yet some men, friendly enough of nature, but of small judgement in learninge, do thinke I take to much paines, and spend to much time, in settinge forth these childrens affairs. But these good men were never brought up in *Socrates* schole, who saith plainlie, That no man goeth about a more† godlie purpose, than he that is mindfull of the good bringing up, both of his own and other mens children.

Therefore, I trust, good and wise men will thinke well of this my doing. And of other, that thinke otherwise, I will thinke myselfe, they are but men, to be pardoned for their follie, and pitied for their ignorance.

In writing this booke, I have had earnest respecte to three speciall pointes, trothe of religion, honestie in living, right order in learninge. In which three waies, I praie God, my poore children may diligently waulke: for whose sake, as nature moved, and reason required, and necessitie also somewhat compelled, I was the willinger to take these paines.

For seeing, at my death, I am not like to leave them any great store of living, therefore, in my life-time, I thought good to bequeath unto

* *Oedipus* speaks to *Theseus* in a transport of joy, having through his assistance recovered his two daughters out of the hands of *Creon*.

† *Plato in initio Theagis*: Ἀλλὰ μὲν δὴ, ὡς Δημόδοκος καὶ, λέγεται γὰρ συμβαλὴ ἱερὸν χρῆμα εἶναι εἴπερ ἔν καὶ ἄλλη ἡ τις ἔν ἐσιν ἱερά, καὶ αὐτὴ ἀν εἴη περὶ ἧς σὺ νῦν συμβαλέου. Οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ περὶ ὅτι θειοτέρη ἀν ἀνθρώπων βλεῦσαι, ἢ περὶ Παιδείας καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν οἰκείων. This passage is cited by the author, though not so fully.

them.

them, in this little booke, as in my last will and testament, the right waie to good learninge; which if they followe, with the feare of God, they shall verie well come to sufficiencie of livinge.

I wishe also, with all my heart, that yonge M. *Rob. Sackville* may take that fruite of this labour, that his worthie grand-father purposed he should have done; and if any other do take, either proffet or pleasure thereby, they have cause to thanke M. *Robert Sackville*, for whom speciallie this my Schole-master was provided.

And one thing I would have the reader consider in reading this booke, that, because no schole-master hath charge of any childe before he enter into his schole, therefore, I leaving all former care of their good bringing up to wise and good parentes, as a matter not belonging to the schole-master, I do appoynt this my schole-master, then, and there to begin, where his office and charge beginneth. Which charge lasteth not long, but untill the scholer be made hable to go to the Univerfitie, to procede in Logicke, Rhetoricke, and other kindes of learninge.

Yet, if my Schole-master, for love he beareth to his scholer, shall teach him somewhat for his furtherance, and better judgement in learninge, * that may serve him seven yeare after in the Univerfitie, he doth his scholer no more wrong, nor deserveth no worse name thereby, than he doth in *London*, who, selling filke or cloth unto his friend, doth give him better measure than either his promise or bargaine was.

Farewell in Christ.

* Mr. *Ascham* seems in this place to oppose *Quintilian*, and that with good reason. "Tenuit consuetudo, quæ quotidie magis invalescit, ut præceptoribus eloquentiæ, Latinis quidem semper, sed etiam Græcis interim, discipuli serius quam ratio postulat, traderentur.—— Itaque quod est maxime ridiculum, non ante ad declamandi magistrum mittendus videtur puer, quam declamare jam sciat. Nos suum cuique professioni modum demus." Initio libri secundi.

The FIRST BOOKE for the YOUTH.

AFTER the childe hath learned perfitlie the eight partes of speach, let him then learne the right joyning together of substantives with adjectives, the nowne with the verbe, the relative with the antecedent. And, in learninge further his syntaxis, by mine advice, he shall not use the common order in common scholes, for making of *Latines*: whereby the childe commonly learneth, first, an evill choice of wordes, (and “ * Right choice of wordes, saith *Cæsar*, is the foundation of eloquence;”) then a wrong placing of wordes; and, lastlie, an ill framing of the sentence, with a perverse judgement, both of wordes and sentences. These faultes, taking once roote in youth, be never, or hardlie, pluckt away in age. Moreover, there is no one thing, that hath more, either Making of Latines mareth children. dulled the wittes, or taken awaye the will of children from learninge, than the care they have to satisfie their masters in making of *Latines*.

For the scholer is commonlie beat for the makinge, when the master were more worthie to be beat for the mending, or rather marring of the same: the master many times being as ignorant as the childe, what to saie properlie and fitlie to the matter.

Two scholemasters have set forth in print, either of them a booke of such kinde of *Latines*, † *Horman* and ‡ *Whittington* ‡. A childe shall

* *Cicero de claris Orat. Sect. 72.* “ Quinetiam in maximis occupationibus cum ad te ipsum (inquit ad me intuens) de ratione Latinè loquendi accuratissime scripserit; primoque in libro dixerit, *Verborum doctum, originem esse eloquentiæ.*”

† Mr. *William Horman*, born at *Salisbury*, was sometime master of *Eaton* school. As to his performance, though it is here censured, and perhaps not unjustly, as of little use to promote learning; yet it is highly recommended by that learned gentleman, Mr. *Robert Aldrich* of *Eaton*, (whom *Erasmus* mentions with great respect) in a very long and elegant epistle; and Mr. *Lily* has expressed his opinion of it in this following epigram:

*Ausonia gentis linguam si quæris, et optas
Pulsâ barbarie doctius ore loqui;
Hoc opus Hormanni discas puer, utile munus,
Et veterum referens aurea dicta patrum.*

See more of him in the second book.

‡ *Whittington* was born at *Lichfield*, or near it. He wrote many grammatical books, which *Lilly*'s work drove out of the schools. He called himself *Archipoeta Anglice*. **

learne

THE WORKS OF

learne of the better of them, that, which an other daie, if he be wise and come to judgement, he must be faine to unlearne againe.

There is a waie, touched in the* first booke of *Cicero de Oratore*, which, wiselie brought into scholes, truely taught, and constantly used, would not only take wholly away this butcherlie feare of making of *Latines*, but would also, with ease and pleasure, and in short time, as I know by good experience, worke a true choice and placing of wordes, a right ordering of sentences, an easy understanding of the tonge, a readinesse to speake, a facilitie to write, a true judgement, both of his owne, and other mens doinges, what tonge soever he doth use.

The waie is this. After the three concordances learned, as I touched before, let the master read unto him the *Epistles of Cicero*, gathered together and chosén out by *Sturmius*, for the capacitie of children.

The order
of teaching.

Two paper
bookes.

First, let him teach the childe, cherefullie and plainlie, the cause and matter of the letter: then let him construe it into *Englishe* so oft, as the childe may easelie carrie awaie the understanding of it: lastlie, parse it over perfitelie. This done thus, let the childe, by and by, both construe and parse it over againe: so that it may appear, that the childe doubteth in nothing that his master taughte him before. After this, the childe must take a paper booke, and, sitting in some place, where no man shall prompe him, by himself, let him translate into *Englishe* his former lesson. Then shewing it to his master, let the master take from him his *Latin* booke, and, pausing an houre at the least, then let the childe translate his own *Englishe* into *Latine* againe, in an other paper booke. When the childe bringeth it, turned into *Latin*, the master must compare it with *Tullies* booke, and laie them both together: and where the childe doth well, either in chosing, or true placing of *Tullies* wordes, let the master praise him, and saie "Here ye do well." For,

* The passage here referred to is in *Tully's* first book *De Oratore*. "Postea mihi placuit, eoque sum usus adolescens, ut summorum oratorum Græcas orationes explicarem. Quibus lectis hoc assequebar, ut, cum ea, quæ legerem Græcè, Latine redderem, non solum optimis verbis uterer, & tamen usitatis, sed etiam exprimerem quædam verba imitando, quæ nova nostris essent, dummodo essent idonea."

I assure you, there is no such whetstone, to sharpen a good witte, and encourage a will to learninge, as is praise. Children learne by praise.

But if the childe misse, either in forgetting a worde, or in chaunging a good with a worse, or misordering the sentence, I would not have the master either frowne or chide with him, if the childe have done his diligence, and used no trowandship therein. For I know, by good experience, that a childe shall take more profit of two faultes gentle warned of, than of four thinges rightlie hitte. For then the master shall have good occasion to saie unto him, *Tullie* would have used such a worde, not this: *Tullie* would have placed this worde here, not there: would have used this case, this number, this person, this degree, this gender: he would have used this moode, this tense, this simple, rather than this compound: this aduerbe here, not there: he would have ended the sentence with this verbe, not with that nowne or participle, &c. Gentleness in teaching.

In these few lines I have wrapped up the most tedious part of Grammar, and also the ground of almost all the rules that are so busilie taught by the master, and so hardlie learned by the scholer, in all common scholes; which, after this sort, the master shall teach without all error, and the scholer shall learne without great paine, the master being led by so sure a guide, and the scholer being brought into so plaine and easy a waie. And therefore we do not contemne rules, but we gladlie teache rules; and teach them more plainlie, sensible, and orderlie, than they be commonlie taught in common scholes. For when the master shall compare *Tullies* booke with his scholers translation, let the master, at the first, lead and teach his scholer to joine the rules of his grammar booke with the examples of his present lesson, untill the scholer, by himselfe, be able to fetch out of his grammar every rule for every example; so as the grammar booke be ever in the scholers hand, and also used of him as a dictionarie for every present use. This is a lively and perfite waie of teaching of rules; where the common waie, used in common scholes, to read the grammar alone by itselfe, is tedious for the master, hard for the scholer, colde and uncomfortable for them both.

THE WORKS OF

Let your scholer be never afraid to ask you any doubt, but use discretelie the best allurements ye can, to encourage him to the same, lest his over much fearinge of you drive him to seeke some misorderlie shifte; as to seeke to be helped by some other booke, or to be prompted by some other scholer, and so go about to beguile you much, and himselfe more.

With this waie, of good understanding the matter, plaine construinge, diligent parsinge, dailie translatinge, cheerfull admonishinge, and heedfull amendinge of faultes; never leaving behinde iuste praise for well doinge, I would have the scholer brought up withall, till he had read and translated over the first booke of Epistles chosen out by *Sturmius*, with a good piece of a comedie of *Terence* also.

Latin speakinge.

G. Budæus.

All this while, by mine advise, the childe shall use to speake no *Latin*: for, as *Cicero* saith in like mater, with like wordes, *Loquendo, male loqui discunt*. And that excellent learned man, * *G. Budæus*, in his *Greeke* commentaries, fore complaineth, that, when he began to learne the *Latin* tonge, use of speaking *Latin* at the table, and elsewhere, unadvisedlie, did bring him to such an evill choice of wordes, to such a crooked framing of sentences, that no one thing did hurte or hinder him more, all the days of his life afterward, both for readinesse in speaking, and also good judgement in writinge.

In very deede, if children were brought up in such a house †, or such a schole, where the *Latin* tonge were properlie and perfitlie spoken, as *Tiberius* and *Caius Gracchi* were brought up, in their mother *Cornelias*

* “ Id *Laurentio* (*Vallæ*) non aliàs accidit, quàm ex pravâ loquentium consuetudine, quibus aut legendis aut audiendis inviti erroris contagionem contrahimus, simul ex sermone extemporali et neglecto, cui inter familiares affuescimus, præsertim puræ Latinitatis ignaros: Quâ noxâ fit interdum, ut quædam imprudentibus excidant; id quod aliquando experti sumus in Autographis nostris, ita ut flagitiosæ culpæ nos perpuderet.” *Budæus*.

† “ Magni interest, quos quisque audiat quotidie domi, quibuscum loquatur à puero; quemadmodum patres, pædagogi, matres etiam loquantur. Legimus epistolas *Corneliæ*, matris *Gracchorum*: Apparet filios non tam in gremio educatos, quam in sermone matris.” *Cic. de claris Orat.* And again in the same book: “ Fuit *Gracchus* diligentia *Corneliæ* matris à puero doctus, & Græcis literis eruditus.”

house,

house, surelie then the dailie use of speakinge were the best and readiest waie to learne the *Latin* tonge. But now, commonlie, in the best scholes in *England*, for wordes, right choice is smallie regarded, true propriety wholly neglected, confusion is brought in, barbarousnesse is bred up so in young wittes, as afterward they be, not onelie marred for speakinge, but also corrupted in judgement: as with much adoe, or never at all, they be brought to right frame againe.

Yet all men covet to have their children speake *Latin*: and so do I verie earnestlie too. We bothe have one purpose: we agree in desire, we wishe one end, but we differ somewhat in order and waie, that leadeth rightlie to that end. Other would have them speake * at all adventures; and, so they be speakinge, to speake, the master careth not, the scholer knoweth not, what. This is, to seeme, and not to be; excepte it be, to be bolde without shame, rashe without skill, full of wordes without witte. I wishe to have them speake so, as it may well appeare, that the braine doth governe the tongue, and that reason leadeth forth the taulke. † *Socrates* doctrine is true in *Plato*, and well marked, and truely uttered by *Horace* in *Arte Poetica*, that, wheresoever knowledge doth accompanie the witte, there best utterance doth alwaies awaite upon the tongue. For good understanding must first be bred in the childe, which, being nourished with skill and use of writinge (as I will teach more largelie hereafter) is the onlie waie to bringe

Much writing breedeth ready speaking.

* Here it is plain, Mr. *Ascham* had *Tully* in his view. “Plerique in hoc vocem modò, neque eam scienter, & vires exercent suas, & linguæ celeritatem incitant, verborumque frequentia delectantur. In quo fallit eos, quod audierent, Dicendo homines, ut dicunt, efficere solere. Verè enim etiam illud dicitur, Perverse dicere, homines perverse dicendo, facillime consequi. Quamobrem in istis ipsis exercitationibus, etsi utile est, etiam subito sæpe dicere, tamen illud utilius, sumpto spatio ad cogitandum, paratius atque accuratius dicere. Caput autem est, quod (ut verè dicam) minimè facimus (est enim magni laboris, quem plerique fugimus) quàm plurimum scribere.” *Cicero de Orat.*

† *Plato* in *Phædro*: Ταῖς δὲ ὁμοιότητις ἀπὸ διήλθομεν, ὅτι πανταχῶς ὁ τὴν ἀλήθειαν εἰδὼς, καλλίστα ἐπιστάται εὐρίσκειν. Idem in *Phædone*: Ἄνθρωπος ἐπιστάμενος, περὶ ὧν ἐπιστάται ἔχει ἀδύναμι λόγον, ἢ ὅ; Πολλὴ ἀνάγκη (εἶπεν) ὁ Σώκρατες. This doctrine of *Socrates* here mentioned, *Craffus* seems modestly to contradict, in *Tully*'s first book *De Oratore*, calling it rather probable, than true. “Atque illud est probabilius, neque tamen verum, quod *Socrates* dicere solebat, Omnes in eo quod sciunt, satis esse eloquentes.” The verses in *Horace*, which he commends, are well known:

Scribendi rectè, sapere est & principium, & fons.

Rem tibi Socraticæ poterunt ostendere chartæ:

Verbaque provisam rem non invita sequentur.

THE WORKS OF

him to judgement and readinesse in speakinge: and that in farre shorter time (if he followe constantlie the * trade of this lesson) than he shall do, by common teachinge of the common scholes in *England*.

But, to go forward, as you perceive your scholer to goe better and better on awaie, first, with understanding his lesson more quicklie, with parsing more readilie, with translating more speedilie and perfitlie then he was wonte; after, give him longer lessons to translate, and, withall, begin to teach him, both in nownes and verbes, what is *Proprium*; and what is *Translatum*; what *Synonymum*, what *Diversum*; which be *Contraria*; and which be most notable *Phrases* in all his lecture. As,

<i>Proprium.</i>	{	<i>Rex sepultus est magnificè.</i>
<i>Translatum.</i>	{	<i>Cum illo principe, sepulta est et gloria, et salus reipublicæ.</i>
† <i>Synonyma.</i>	{	<i>Ensis, gladius. Laudare, prædicare.</i>
<i>Diversa.</i>	{	‡ <i>Diligere, amare. Calere, exardescere. Inimicus, hostis.</i>
<i>Contraria.</i>	{	<i>Acerbum et luctuosum bellum. Dulcis et læta pax.</i>
<i>Phrases.</i>	{	<i>Dare verba. Abjicere obedientiam.</i>

* *Trade* is *practice*. **

† *Synonyma* are very rare in any language. *Laudare* is simply to praise, *prædicare*, to praise publickly. **

‡ “*Quis erat, qui putaret ad eum amorem, quem erga te habebam, posse aliquid accedere? Tantum tamen accessit, ut mihi nunc denique amare videar, antea dilexisse.*” *Cicero ad Dolabellam*. Videtur Scaligero *diligere* à deligendo dictum, quod tanquam initium sit amandi.

|| This is *Tully's* expression; which I therefore mention, because I have known some question the authority of it. *Cic. lib. i. Offic.* “*Relinquant enim, & abjiciunt obedientiam, nec ratione parent.*” And near the end of the same book; “*Non illa omnia relinquat, atque abjiciat?*” The allusion seems to be, *A soldier quitting his post, and casting away his arms.*

Abjecit clypeum, locoque motus

Nescit, quâ valeat trahi, catenam. Boetius.

Your

Your scholer then must have the third paper booke: in the which, ^{The third} after he hath done his double translation, let him write, after this sort, paper booke. four of these forenamed fix, diligentlie marked out of every lesson.

Quatuor. { *Propria,*
Translata,
Synonyma,
Diversa,
Contraria,
Phrases.

Or else three, or two, if there be no moe: and, if there be none of these at all in some lecture, yet not omitte the order, but write these:

{ *Diversa nulla,*
Contraria nulla, &c.

This diligent translating, joined with this heedfull marking, in the foresaid epistles, and afterwarde in some plaine oration of *Tullie*, as *Pro lege Manil. Pro Archia Poeta*, or in those * three *Ad C. Cæs.* shall worke such a right choice of wordes, so streight a framing of sentences, such a true judgement, both to write skilfullie, and speake wittelie, as wise men shall both praise and marvell at.

If your scholer do misse sometimes, in marking rightlie these fore- ^{Gentleness} said fix things, chide not hastelie, for that shall both dull his witte, ^{in teaching.} and discourage his diligence, but monish him gentelie; which shall make him both willing to amende, and glad to go forward in love and hope of learning.

I have now wished twise or thrise this gentle nature to be in a scholmaster: and that I have done so, neither by chance, nor without some reason, I will now declare at large, why, in mine opinion, love is Love.

* There are but two Orations properly *ad C. Cæsarem*, viz. *pro Q. Ligario*, & *rege Dejotaro*: the third is easily understood to be that *pro M. Marcello*.

Feare.

fitter than feare, gentlenesse better than beating, to bring up a childe rightlie in learning.

Common
scholes.

With the common use of teaching and beating in common scholes of *England*, I will not greatlie contend; which, if I did, it were but a small grammatical controversie, neither belonging to heresie nor treason, nor greatly touching God nor the Prince; although in very deede, in the end, the good or ill bringing up of children doth as much serve to the good or ill service of God, our Prince, and our whole countrie, as any one thing doth beside.

Sharpe
scholemas-
ters.

I do gladlie agree with all good scholemasters in these pointes; to have children brought to good perfitnesse in learning, to all honestie in manners, to have all faultes rightlie amended, to have everie vice severelie corrected; but for the order and waie that leadeth rightlie to these pointes, we somewhat differ. For commonlie many scholemasters, some as I have seen, moe as I have heard tell, be of so crooked a nature, as, when they meete with a harde witted scholer, they rather breake him than bowe him, rather marre him than mend him. For when the scholemaster is angrie with some other matter, then will he soneft faul to beate his scholer; and though he himselfe should be punished for his folie, yet must he beat some scholer for his pleasure, though there be no cause for him to do so, nor yet fault in the scholer to deserve so. These, ye will say, be fond scholemasters, and fewe they be that be found to be such. They be fond indeede, but surelie over many such be found everie where. But this will I say, that even the wisest of your great beaters, do as oft punish nature, as they do correcte faultes. Yea, many times, the better nature is sore punished; for, if one, by quicknesse of witte, take his lesson readelie, an other, by hardnesse of witte, taketh it not so spedelie, the first is alwaies commended, the other is commonlie punished; when a wise scholemaster, should rather discretlie consider the right disposition of both their natures, and not so much weigh what either of them is able to do now, as what either of them is likelie to do hereafter. For this I know, not onlie by reading of bookes in my studie, but also by experience of life abroad in the world, that those, which be commonlie the wisest, the best

Nature pu-
nished.

best learned, and best men also, when they be olde *, were never commonlie the quickest of witte, when they were yonge. The causes why, amongst other, which be many, that move me thus to thinke, be these fewe which I will reckon. Quicke wittes commonlie be apte to take, unapte to keepe : † soone hote and desirous of this and that, as colde, and sone wery of the same againe; more quicke to enter spedelie, than hable to pearse farre; even like over-sharpe tooles, whose edges be verie soone turned. Such wittes delite themselves in easie and pleasant studies, and never passe forward in hie and hard sciences. And therefore the quickest wittes commonlie may prove the best poetes, but not the wisest orators: readie of tongue to speake boldlie, not deep of judgement, either for good counsell or wise writing. Also for manners and life, quicke wittes commonlie be, in desire new fangled, in purpose unconstant, light to promise any thing, ready to forget every thing, both benefite and injurie: and thereby neither fast to frend, nor fearfull to foe: inquisitive of every trifle, not secret in greatest affaires; bolde, with any person, busie in every matter; sothing such as be present, nipping any that is absent; of nature also, alwaies flattering their betters, envying their equals, despising their inferiours; and, by quicknesse of witte, verie quicke and readie to like none so well as themselves.

Quicke
wittes for
learninge.

Quicke
wittes for
manners and
life.

Moreover, commonlie, men verie quicke of witte be also verie light of ‡ conditions; and, thereby, very readie of disposition, to be carried over quicklie by any light companie, to any riot and unthriftinesse when they be yonge, and therefore seldome either honest of life, or riche in living, when they be olde. For quicke in witte, and light in manners, be either seldome troubled, or verie soon wery, in carying a verie hevie purse. Quicke wittes also be, in most part of all their doinges, over quicke, hastie, rashe, headie, and brain-sicke. These two last wordes, Headie and Brain-sicke, be fitte and proper wordes, rising naturally of the matter; and tearmed aptlie by the condition of over much quick-

* This was remarkably the character of *Cato the Younger*, as he is described by *Plutarch*. See his Life.

† Thus *Aristotle*, most admirably describing the nature of youth: Εὐμεταβολοὶ δὲ, καὶ αἰψότροι πρὸς τὰς ἐπιθυμίας, καὶ σφόδρα μὲν ἐπιθυμοῦσι, ταχὺ δὲ παύουσι. ὀξεῖαι γὰρ αἱ βολήσεις, καὶ ἡμετέροιαι, ὥστε αἱ τῶν καμνόντων διαφθεῖν καὶ πίνειν. *Rhet.* 2. cap. 12.

‡ Conditions are qualities of mind, temper, disposition. **

nesse.

ness of witte. In youthe also they be readie scoffers, privie mockers, and ever over light and mery ; in age sone testie, very waspishe, and alwaies over miserable. And yet fewe of them come to any greate age, by reason of their misordered life when they were yonge, but a great deale fewer of them come to shewe any great countenance, or beare any great authoritie abroad in the world, but either live obscurely, men know not how, or dye obscurely, men marke not when.

They be like trees, † that shewe forth faire blossoms and broad leaves in Spring time, but bring out small and not long lasting fruit in Harvest time ; and that only such as fall and rotte before they be ripe, and so never, or seldome, come to any good at all. For this ye shall finde most true by experience, that, amongst a number of quicke wittes in youthe, fewe be found, in the end, either verie fortunate for themselves, or verie profitable to serve the common wealth, but decay and vanish, men know not which way, except a very few, to whom, peradventure, blood and happy parentage may perchance purchase a long standing upon the stage. The which felicity, because it cometh by others procuring, not by their owne deservinge, and stand by other mens feete, and not by their own, what owtward brag soever is borne by them, is indeed, of itselfe, and in wise mens eyes, of no great estimation.

Some sciences hurt mens wittes, and marre mens manners. Mathematical heades. Galen. Plato.	Some wittes, moderate enough by nature, be many times marde by over much studie and use of some sciences, namelie, musicke, arithmeticke, and geometrie. These sciences, as they sharpen mens wittes over much, so they change mens manners over sore, if they be not moderately mingled, and wisely applied to some good use of life. Marke all * mathematical heades, which be only and wholly bent to those sciences, how solitary they be themselves, how unfit to live with others, and how unapte to serve in the world. This is not onelie known now by common experience, but uttered long before by wise mens judgement and sentence. <i>Galen</i> sayth, much musick marreth mens manners: and <i>Plato</i> hath a notable place of the same thing in his bookes <i>De Rep.</i> well marked also, and excellentlie translated by <i>Tullie</i> himself.
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† “ Illud ingeniorum velut præcox genus, non temere unquam pervenit ad frugem.” *Quint. lib. 1.* “ Non enim potest in eo esse succus diuturnus, quod nimis celeriter est maturitatem affecutum.” *Cicero de Orat. lib. 1.*

* This censure of mathematicians is confirmed by *Swift*, in *Gulliver's Travels.* **

Of this matter I wrote once more at large, twenty yeare ago, in my * booke of *Shootinge*: now I thought but to touch it, to prove, that over much quicknesse of witte, either given by nature, or sharpened by studie, doth not commonlie bring forth, eyther greatest learning, best maners, or happiest life in the end.

Contrariwise, a witte in youth that is not over dulle, heavie, knottie and lumpishe, but hard, tough, and though somewhat stas-fishe, (as *Tullie* wisheth, *otium, quietum non languidum*: and *negotium cum labore, non cum periculo*) such a witte, I say, if it be, at the first, well handled by the mother, and rightlie smothered and wrought as it should, not overwartlie, and against the wood, by the scholemaster, both for learning and hole course of living, proveth alwaies the best. In woode and stone, not the softest, but hardest, be alwaies aptest for portraiture, both fairest for pleasure, and most durable for profit. Hard wittes be hard to receive, but sure to keepe; painfull without wearienesse, hede-full without wavering, constant without newfanglenesse; bearing heavie thinges, though not lightlie, yet willinglie; entring hard thinges, though not easelie yet depelie; and so come to that perfitnesse of learning in the ende, that quicke wittes seeme in hope, but do not in dede, or else verie seldome, ever attaine unto. Also, for maners and life, hard wittes, commonlie, are hardlie caried, either to desire everie new thing, or else to marvell at every strange thinge: and therefore they be carefull and diligent in their own matters, not curious and busie in other mens affaires, and so they become wise themselves, and also are counted honest by others. They be grave, stedfast, silent of tong, secret of hart. Not hastie in making, but constant in keping any promise. Not rashe in uttering, but ware in considering every matter: and thereby, not quicke in speaking, but deepe of judgement, whether they write or give counsell in all weightie affairs. And theis be the men that become, in the end, both most happie for themselves, and alwaise best esteemed abroad in the world.

I have bene longer in describing the nature, the good, or ill successe, of the quicke and hard witte, than perchance some will thinke this place and matter doth require. But my purpose was hereby plainlie to utter,

* See page 72.

The best
wittes dri-
ven from
learnynge to
other livyng.

what injurie is offered to all learninge, and to the common wealth also, first, by the fond father in chosing, but chieflie by the lewd *scholmaster in beating and driving away the best natures from learninge. A childe that is still, silent, constant, and somewhat hard of witte, is either never chosen by the father to be made a scholer, or else, when he cometh to the schole, he is smally regarded, little looked unto, he lacketh teaching, he lacketh coraging, he lacketh all thinges, onelie he never lacketh beating, nor any word that may move him to hate learninge, nor any deed that may drive him from learninge, or any other kinde of living.

Hard wittes
prove best in
every kind
of life.

And when this sadde natured, and hard witted childe is bette from his booke, and becommeth after, eyther student of the common lawe, or page in the court, or serving man, or bound prentice to a merchant, or to some handiecraft, he proveth, in the ende, wiser, happier, and many times honester too, than many of theis quicke wittes do by their learninge.

Learninge is both hindred and injured to, by the ill choice of them that send young scholers to the universities; of whom must nedes come all oure divines, lawyers, and phyicians.

The ill
choice of
wittes for
learninge.

These young scholers be chosen commonlie † as young apples be chosen by children, in a faire garden about *St. James* tyde: a childe will chose a sweeting, because it is presentlie faire and pleasant, and refuse a runnet, because it is then greene, hard and sowre, when the one, if it be eaten, doth breed both wormes and ill humours: the other, if it stand his tyme, be ordered and kept as it should, is holosome of itself, and helpeth to the good digestion of other meates: sweetinges.

* *Axepais*, qui sibi ipse eum nequeat imperare, incontinentes statim alteri injicit manus.

† “Ita est, inquit Accius, uti dicis. Neque id sane me poenitet: meliora enim fore spero, quæ deinceps scribam. Nam quod in pomis est, itidem, inquit, esse aiunt in ingeniis: quæ dura et acerba nascuntur, post fiunt mitia & jucunda. Sed quæ gignuntur statim vieta et mollia, atque in principio sunt uvida, non matura mox fiunt, sed putria. Relinquendum igitur visum est in ingenio, quod dies atque ætas mitificet.” *A. Gellius, lib. 13. cap. 2.*

will

will receive wormes, rotte, and dye on the tree, and never, or feldome, come to the gathering for good and lasting store.

For verie greafe of herte I will not applie the fimilitude: but hereby is plainlie feen, how learning is robbed of her best wittes, first, by the greate beating, and after by the ill chosing of scholers to go to the universities: whereof commeth, partlie, that lewde and spitefull proverbe, sounding to the greate hurte of learning, and shame of learned men, that "the greatest clerkes be not the wisest men."

And though I, in all this discourse, seem plainlie to prefer hard and rough wittes before quicke and light wittes, both for learning and manners, yet am I not ignorant that some quicknesse of witte is a singular gift of God, and so most rare amonges men; and namelie, such a witte as is quicke without lightnesse, sharp without brittlenesse, desirous of good thinges without new fanglenesse, diligent in painfull thinges without werisomnesse, and constant in good will to do all thinges well; as I know was in Sir *John Cbeke*, and is in some that yet live, in whom all these faire qualities of witte are fullie mette together.

But it is notable and trewe, that *Socrates* sayth in *Plato* to his frende *Phædo*, that " * that number of men is fewest, which farre excede, either in good or ill, in wisdom or folie; but the meane betwixt both be the greatest number:" which he proveth trewe in diverse other thinges; as in grey houndes, amonges which fewe are found exceeding greate, or exceeding little, exceeding swift, or exceeding slowe. And therefore, speaking of quick and hard wittes, I meant the common number of quick and hard wittes; amonges the which, for the most parte, the hard witte proveth manie times the better learned, wiser and honefter man: and therefore do I the more lament that such wittes commonly be eyther kepte from learning by fond fathers, or bet from learninge by lewde scholemasters.

Plato, in
Phædone.

Verie good,
or verie ill
men, be few-
est in num-
ber.

* *Plato's* words are these: — οὕτως αὖ ἡγήσασθαι, τὸς μὲν χρηστὰς καὶ πονηρὰς σφόδρα ὀλίγους εἶναι ἐκείνους· τὰς δὲ μέλας, πλείους. Πῶς λέγεις; ἢ οὐκ ἔγωγ. Ὡς περ (ἢ οὐκ ὅς) περὶ τῶν σφόδρα μικρῶν καὶ μεγάλων, οἷον τὰ σπανιώτερον εἶναι, ἢ σφόδρα μέγαν ἢ σφόδρα σμικρὸν ἔξυρειν ἀνθρώπων; ἢ κύνων, ἢ ἀλλοδαπῶν; ἢ αὖ ταχέων, ἢ βραδύων; ἢ καλῶν, ἢ αἰσχρῶν, ἢ λευκῶν, ἢ μέλανων; ἢ ἔκ ἡσθησθαι, ὅτι πάντων τῶν τοιούτων τὰ μὲν ἄκρα τῶν ἐσχάτων, σπάνια καὶ ὀλίγα, τὰ δὲ μέλας, ἀφθονὰ καὶ πολλὰ. By a mistake of memory, *Crito* was twice mentioned by Mr. *Ascham* instead of *Phædo*.

Horsemen
be wiser in
knowledge
of a good
colte, than
scholemas-
ters be in
knowledge
of a good
witte.

A good rider
better re-
warded than
a good
scholemas-
ter.
Horse well
broken,
children ill
taught.

And, speaking thus much of the wittes of children for learning, the opportunitie of the place, and goodnesse of the matter, might require to have here declared the most speciall notes of a good witte for learning in a childe; after the manner and custom of a good horseman, who is skilfull to know, and hable to tell others, how, by certain sure signes, a man may choise a colte, that is like to prove an other day excellent for the saddle. And it is pitie, that commonlie more care is had, yea, and that amonges verie wise men, to find out rather a cunnynge man for their horse, than a cunnynge man for their children. They say nay in worde, but they do so in deede. For, to the one they will gladlie give a stipend of 200 crounes by yeare, and loth to offer to the other * 200 shillings. God, that sitteth in heaven, laugheth their choice to skorne, and rewardeth their liberalitie as it should; for he suffereth them to have tame, and well ordered horse, but wilde and unfortunate children; and therefore, in the ende, they finde more pleasure in their horse then comforte in their children.

But concerning the trewe notes of the best wittes for learning in a childe, I will reporte, not myne own opinion, but the very judgement of him that was counted the best teacher and wisest man that learning maketh mention of, and that is *Socrates* in *Plato* †, who expresth orderlie these seven plaine notes, to chose a good witte in a childe for learninge.

Plato in 7.
de Rep.

* *Hos inter sumptus, sestertia Quintiliano*
Ut multum, duo sufficient: res nulla minoris
Constabit patri, quàm filius. Juven. Sat. 7.

I. Ευφυής.

To these we shall subjoin the verses of *Crates* the philosopher, mentioned by *Laertius*:

Τίθει μαίερω μνᾶς δέκ', ἰατρῷ δραχμὴν,
Κόλακι τάλαντα πέντε, συμβέλω καπνόν,
Πόρην τάλαντον, φιλοσόφῳ τριώβολον.

† It may not be amiss, to present the reader with the whole passage out of *Plato*, though somewhat long; since not only the notes, and characters themselves, but the explanation of them, are in some measure thence taken by our author.

Δριμύτητα, ὦ μακάριε, (ἔφη) δεῖ αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὰ μαθήματα ὑπάρχειν, καὶ μὴ χαλεπῶς μανθάνειν· πολὺ γάρ τοι μᾶλλον ἀποδειλιῶσι ψυχαὶ ἐν ἰσχυροῖς μαθήμασιν, ἢ ἐν γυμνασίοις· οἰκειότερον γὰρ αὐταῖς ὁ πόνος, ἰδίῳ, ἢ κοινός, ὧν μετὰ τῷ σώματι. Ἀληθῆ, ἔφη. Καὶ μνήμονα δέ, καὶ ἄκρατον, καὶ πάντα φιλόπονον ζητητέον. ἢ τίνι τρόπῳ οἶε τὰ τε τῷ σώματι ἐβελήσειν τινα διαπονεῖν, καὶ τοσαύτην μάθησιν τε καὶ μελέτην ἐπιτελεῖν; Οὐδένα, ἦ δ' ὅς, εἰ μὴ παντάπασιν ἡ εὐφυής.

Td.

- | | |
|---------------|----------------|
| 1. Ευφυής. | 5. Φιλήχοος. |
| 2. Μνήμων. | 6. Ζητητῆχος. |
| 3. Φιλομαθής. | 7. Φιλέπαινος. |
| 4. Φιλόπονος. | |

Trewe notes
of a good
witte.

And because I write *Englishe*, and to *Englishemen*, I will plainlie declare, in *Englishe*, both what these wordes of *Plato* meane, and how aptlie they be linked, and how orderlie they follow one another.

I. Ευφυής,

Is he, that is apte by goodnesse of witte, and appliable by readinesse of will, to learning, having all other qualities of the minde and partes of the bodie, that must an other day serve learning; not trobled, mangled, and halfed, but founde, whole, full, and hable to do their office: as, a tounge not stamering, or over hardlie drawing forth wordes, but plaine and redie to deliver the meaning of the minde; a voice not softe, weake, piping, womanishe, but audible, stronge, and manlike; a countenance not werishe and crabbed, but faire and comelie; a personage not wretched and deformed, but taule and goodlie: for surelie, * a comlie countenance, with a goodlie stature, geveth credit to learning, and authoritie to the person; otherwise, commonlie, either open contempte, or privie disfavour doth hurte, or hinder, both

Witte.
Will.

The tounge.

The voice.

Face.

Stature.

Learning

joyned with
a comlie
personage.

Τὸ γυν νῦν αἰμάρτημα (ἦν δ' ἐγὼ) καὶ ἡ ἀτιμία Φιλοσοφία διὰ ταῦτα προσπέπλωκεν (ὁ καὶ πρότερον εἶπομεν) ὅτι καὶ κατ' ἀξίαν αὐτῆς ἀπλονται. Οὐ γὰρ νόθος ἔδει ἀπλεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ γνησίως. Πῶς; ἔφη. Πρῶτων μὲν, εἶπον, φιλοπονία καὶ χολὸν δεῖ εἶναι τὸν αἰψόμενον. τὰ μὲν ἡμίσεα φιλόπονον ὄντα, τὰ δὲ ἡμίσεα, ἀπονον. Ἐστὶ δὲ τὸτο, ὅταν τις φιλογυμνασῆς μὲν, καὶ φιλόθη-
ρῃ, καὶ πάντα τὰ διὰ τῷ σώματι φιλοπονῇ. φιλομαθὴς δὲ μὴ, μηδὲ φιλήκοος, μηδὲ ζήλιχος. ἀλλ' ἐν πᾶσι τέτοις μισοπονῇ. χολος δὲ, καὶ ὁ τάναντία τότε μελαβεβληκὼς τὴν φιλοπονίαν.

The reader will observe, the last note φιλέπαινος is not here expressed; and I question very much, whether there be any such word in the *Greek* language. In this sense, φιλότιμος is generally used; as in *Xenophon*. speaking of *Cyrus*, φιλομαθέστατος καὶ φιλοτιμότατος; and in another place, ὅρας ὡς φιλότιμός ἐστι, καὶ ἐλευθέρῳ: or else a Periphrasis, as ἐπαῖνος ἐρασῆς, ἀρεγόμενος, ἐφιέμενος, or some such like.

* Thus *Xenophon* in his *Institution of Cyrus*, designing rather, as *Tully* supposes, a model of a just and complete government, than a true relation of things performed, has described his prince with all these happy endowments both of mind and body.

Φῦναι δὲ ὁ Κύρος λέγεται, καὶ ἀδεῖται ἐτι καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων, εἶδος μὲν καλλίστου. ψυχὴν δὲ φιλανθρωπότατον, καὶ φιλομαθέστατον καὶ φιλοτιμότατον, ὥς πάντα μὲν πόνον ἀναλῆ-
σαι, πάντα δὲ κίνδυνον ὑπομείναι τῷ ἐπαινεῖσθαι ἕνεκα. And again in the same book: Ἐτι δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ φιλομαθὴς εἶναι, πολλὰ μὲν αὐτὸς αἰετὶ παρούσας ἀνθρώπων, πῶς ἔχοντα πυχχανοί, καὶ ἅσα αὐτὸς ὑπ' ἄλλων ἐρωτῶτο, διὰ τὸ ἀσχίνος εἶναι, ταχὺ ἀπεκρίνεται.

person

THE WORKS OF

person and learning. And even as * a faire stone requireth to be sette in the finest gold, with the best workmanship, or else it lefeth much of the grace and price, even so excellencye in learning, and namely divinitie, joined with a comelie personage, is a mervelous jewell in the world. And how can a cumlie bodie be better employed, than to serve the fairest exercise of Goddes greatest gifte, and that is learning. But commonlie the fairest bodies are bestowed on the foulest purposes. I would it were not so; and with examples herein, I will not medle: yet I wishe, that those should both mynde it and medle with it, which have most occasion to looke to it, as good and wise fathers should do; and greatest authoritie to amend it, as good and wise magistrates ought to do: and yet I will not let openlie to lament the unfortunate case of learning herein.

Deformed
creatures
commonlie
set to learn-
ing.

For, if a father have four sonnes, three faire and well formed, both mynde and bodie, the fourth wretched, lame, and deformed, † his choice shall be, to put the worst to learning, as one good enough to become a scholer. I have spent the most parte of my life in the universitie, and therefore I can bear good witnesse that many fathers commonlie do thus: whereof I have hard many wise, learned, and as good men as ever I knew, make great and oft complainte. A good horseman will chose no such colte, neither for his own, nor yet for his masters sadle. And thus much of the first note.

2. Μνήμων,

Memorie.

Good of memorie: a speciall parte of the first note *εὐφρονης*, and a mere benefite of nature; yet it is so necessarie for learning, as *Plato* maketh it a separate and perfite note of itselfe, and that so principal a note, as, without it, all other giftes of nature do small service to learn-

* *Quale manus addunt ebori decus, aut ubi flavo
Argentum, Pariusve lapis circumdatur auro.* Virgil. lib. 1. v. 596.

† The same complaint we have in *Ludov. Vives*, in his book *De tradendis disciplinis*.
“ Quidam, quo nihil est magis ridiculum, ineptos mercaturæ aut militiæ, aut aliis civilibus
“ muniis, ad scholas mittunt, atque initiari jubent; quodque est grande nefas, Deo sacrant
“ foetum despiciatissimum atque inutilissimum; et putant ad res tantas satis habiturum judicii
“ ac mentis, qui ad minimas et levissimas non habet.”

ing.

ing. *Afranius*, * that olde Latin poete, maketh Memorie the mother of learning and wisdom, saying thus:

Aul. Gel.

Ufus me genuit, mater peperit Memoria.

And though it be the mere gift of nature, yet is memorie well preserved by use, and much encreased by order, as our scholer must learne an other day in the universitie: but, in a childe, a good memorie is well known by three properties: that is, if it be quicke in receyving, sure in keeping, and redie in delivering forthe againe.

Three sure
signes of a
good memo-
rie.

3. Φιλομαθής,

Given to love learning: for though a child have all the giftes of nature at wishe, and perfection of memorie at will, yet if he have not a speciall love to learninge, he shall never attaine to much learning. And therefore *Isocrates*, † one of the noblest scholemasters that is in memorie of learning, who taught Kinges and Princes, as *Halicarnassens* writeth; and out of whose schole, as *Tullie* saith, came forth ‡ mo noble captanes, mo wise councelors, than did out of *Epeius* horse at *Troie*: This *Isocrates*, I say, did cause to be written at the entrie of his schole, in golden letters, this golden sentence, || Έαν ης Φιλομαθής, εση

* Aul. Gell. lib. 13. cap. 8. Versus Afranii sunt in togata, cui Sellæ nomen est:

Ufus me genuit, mater peperit Memoria:

Sophiam vocant me Graeci, vos Sapientiam.

† *Dionysius* in his treatise of the ancient Greek orators, gives us this great character of *Isocrates*. Επιφανέστατος δὲ γινόμενος τῶν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀρχαίων χρόνον, καὶ τὰς κρατίστες τῶν Ἀθηναίων τε καὶ ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἑλλάδι νέων παιδεύσας. Καὶ τῆς Ἀθηναίων πόλεως εἰκόνα ποιεῖσθαι τῆς αὐτῆς Σχολῆς κατὰ τὰς ἀπορίας τῶν λόγων.

And so eminent for learning and wisdom were his scholars, that, as *Dionysius* informs us, *Hermippus* thought fit to write their history: οἱ τὸς Ἰσοκράτους μαθητὰς ἀναγράψας Ἑρμιππος.

‡ “Ecce tibi exortus est *Isocrates*, magister istorum omnium, cujus ē ludo, tanquam ex equo Trojano, innumeri principes exierunt: sed eorum partim in pompa, partim in acie illustres esse voluerunt.” *Cic. de Orat. lib. 2.* Virg. *Et ipse doli fabricator Epeus.* Ἴππος δούρατος. Hence I shall take occasion to correct a verse, which we meet with in *Herbstian*, pag. 60.

Δούρατος ἴφ' ἵππῳ κατὰ μὲν βριμύμενον

So I read it, instead of Δούρατος ὡς ἴφ' ἵππῳ, which *Lucretius* thus expresses:

Nec clam durateus Trojai Pergama partu

Instammasset equus nocturno Grajugenarum.

¶ This sentence is likewise in his *Parænesis* to *Demonicus*.

φιλομαθής:

πολυμαθής: which excellentlie said in Greeke, is thus rudelie in Englishe, *If thou lovest learning, thou shalt attayne to much learning.*

4. Φιλόπρονος,

Is he that hath a lust to labor, and a will to take paines. For if a childe have all the benefites of nature, with perfection of memorie, love, like, and praise learning never so much, yet if he be not of himselfe painfull, he shall never attayne unto it. And yet, where love is present, labor is seldom absent, and namelie in studie of learning, and matters of the mynde: and therefore did *Isocrates* rightlie judge, that if his scholer were φιλομαθής, he cared for no more. *Aristotle*, * varying from *Isocrates* in private affaires of life, but agreeing with *Isocrates* in common judgement of learning, for love and labor in learning, is of the same opinion, uttered in these wordes, in his *Rhetoricke ad Theodecten*; “† Libertie kindleth love; love refuseth no labour; and labor obtayneth whatsoever it seeketh.” And yet, neverthelesse, goodnesse of nature may do litle good; perfection of memorie may serve to small use; all love may be employed in vayne; and labor may be sone gravaled, if a man trust alwaies to his own singular witte, and will not be glad sometyme to heare, take advise, and learne of an other: and therefore doth *Socrates* very notablie adde the fifth note:

* This emulation between *Isocrates* and *Aristotle*, is mentioned by *Tully* more than once. “Ipse Aristoteles cum florere Isocratem nobilitate discipulorum videret, quod ipse suas disputationes à causis forensibus & civilibus ad inanem sermonis elegantiam transtulisset, mutavit repente totam formam propè disciplinæ suæ, versumque quendam de Philocleta paulo secus dixit. Ille enim turpe sibi ait esse tacere, cum barbaros; hic autem, cum Isocratem pateretur dicere.” *De Orat. lib. 3.*

The *Parody* he used, though ingenious, was too severe on so great a man:

Αἰσχρὸν σιωπᾶν, Ἴσοκράτην τ' ἔαν λέγειν:

Inverting this verse of *Euripides*,

Αἰσχρὸν σιωπᾶν, βαρβάρους τ' ἔαν λέγειν.

You meet with the same verse in the third book of *Quintilian*, but not so correct. In *Lactantius* it is, Σενοκράτη δ' ἔαν λέγειν.

† See the beginning of the second book, where this passage out of *Aristotle* is repeated.

5. Φιλήκοος,

He that is glad to heare and learne of another. For, otherwise, he shall sticke with great troble, where he might go easelie forward: and also catche hardlie a verie litle by his own toyle, when he might gather quicklie a good deale, by another mans teaching. But now there be some that have great love to learning, good lust to labor, be willing to learne of others, yet, eyther of a fonde shamefastnesse, or else of a proude folie, they dare not, or will not, go to learne of another: and therefore doth *Socrates* wiselie adde the fixte note of a good witte in a childe for learninge, and that is,

6. Ζητητικός,

He that is naturallie bolde to aske any question, desirous to searche out any doubt; not ashamed to learne of the meanest, nor affraide to go to the greatest, untill he be perfittlie taught, and fullie satisfied. The seventh and last poynte is,

7. Φιλέπαινος,

He that loveth to be praised for well doing, at his father or masters hand. A childe of this nature will earnestlie love learninge, gladlie labor for learninge, willinglie learne of other, boldlie ask any doubt.

And thus, by *Socrates* judgement, a good father, and a wise scholemaster, should chose a childe to make a scholer of, that hath, by nature, the foresaid perfite qualities, and cumlie furniture, both of minde and bodie: hath memorie, quicke to receyve, sure to kepe, and readie to deliver; hath love to learning; hath lust to labor; hath desire to learne of others; hath boldnesse to aske any question; hath minde holie bent to wyne praise by well doing.

The two first pointes be speciall benefites of nature; which, nevertheless, be well preserved, and much encreased by good order. But, as for the five last, love, labor, gladnesse to learne of others, boldnesse to aske doubt, and will to wyne praise, be wonne and maintained by the onelie wisdom and discretion of the scholemaster. Which five poyntes, whether a scholemaster shall worke soner in a childe by fearfull beating, or curtesie handling, you that be wise, judge.

Yet some men, wise in deede, but, in this matter, more by feveritie of nature than any wisdom at all, do laugh at us, when we thus wishe and reason, that young children should rather be allured to learning by gentleness and love, than compelled to learning by beating and feare: they say "our reasons serve onlie to breede forth taulke, and " passe awaie time, but we never saw good scholemasters do so, nor never red of wise men that thought so."

Plato in
de Rep.

Yes, forsothe: as wise as they be, either in other mens opinions, or in their own conceite; I will bring the contrarie judgement of him, who, they themselves shall confesse, was as wise as they are, or else they may be justlie thought to have small witte at all; and that is *Socrates*, whose judgement in *Plato* is plainlie this, in these wordes; which, because they be verie notable, I will recite them in his own tounge:
 * Οὐδὲν μάθημα μέγα δουλείας τὸν ἐλεύθερον χρὴ μαθάνειν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ σώματος πόνοι εἰς πονούμενοι, χεῖρον οὐδὲν τὸ σῶμα ἀπεργάζονται· ψυχῇ δὲ εἰσιον οὐδὲν ἔμμενον μάθημα. In *Englishe* thus; "No learning ought to be learned with
 " bondage: for bodily labours, wrought by compulsion, hurt not the
 " bodie; but any learning learned by compulsion, tarieth not long in
 " the mynde." And why? For whatsoever the mynde doth learne unwillinglie with feare, the same it doth quicklie forget without care. And lest proude wittes, that love not to be contraryed, but have lust to wrangle and trifle away troth, will say, that *Socrates* meaneth not this of childrens teaching, but of some other higher learninge; hear what *Socrates*, in the same place, doth more plainlie say: Μὴ τοίνυν εἰς, ὧς ἄριστε, τοὺς παῖδας ἐν τοῖς μαθήμασιν, ἀλλὰ παίζοντας τρέφε. That is to say;
 " And therefore, my deare friend, bryng not up your children in learninge by compulsion and feare, but by playing and pleasure." And you that do read *Plato* as ye shold, do well perceyve, that these be no questions asked by *Socrates* as doubtles, but they be sentences, first affirmed by *Socrates*, as mere trothes, and after given forth by *Socrates* as right rules; most necessarie to be marked, and fitte to be folowed of all them, that would have children taughte as they should. And, in this counsell, judgement, and authority of *Socrates*, I will repose myselfe, untill I meete with a man of the contrarie mynde, whom I may justlie

The right
reading of
Plato.

* See the preface.

take

take to be wiser than I thinke *Socrates* was. Fonde scholemasters neither can understand, nor will folow, this good counsell of *Socrates*; but wise ryders, in their office, can, and will do both; which is the onelie cause, that commonlie the yong gentlemen of *England* go so unwillinglie to schole, and run so fast to the stable: for, in very deede, fonde scholemasters, by feare, do beate into them the hatred of learning; and wise ryders, by jentle allurements, do breed up in them the love of ryding. They finde feare and bondage in scholes, they feele libertie and freedome in stables; which causeth them utterlie to abhorre the one, and most gladlie to haunt the other. And I do not write this, that, in exhorting to the one, I would dissuade yonge gentlemen from the other; yea I am sorry, with all my harte, that they be given no more to ryding than they be; for, of all outward qualities, to ride faire is most cumlie for himselfe, most necessarie for his countrie; and the greater he is in blood, the greater is his praise, the more he doth excede all other therein. It was one of the three excellent praises amongst the noble gentlemen, the old *Persians*; "Alwaise to say troth, to ride faire, and shote well:" and so it was engraven † upon *Darius* tumbe, as *Strabo* 15. *Strabo* beareth witnesse:

*Darius the King lieth buried heare,
Who in ryding and shoting had never peare.*

But to our purpose: yonge men, by any meanes leeing the love of learning, when by tyme they cum to their owne rule, they carie commonlie from the schole with them, a perpetuall hatred of their master, and a continual contempt of learninge. If ten gentlemen be asked, Why they forgot so sone in court, that which they were learning so long in schole? eight of them, or let me be blamed, will laie the fault on their ill handling by their scholemasters.

Cuspinian doth report, that that noble Emperour *Maximilian* would lament verie oft his || misfortune herein. Yet

† This inscription is twice mentioned in his *Toxophilus*: *Strabo's* words are these: Μέμνηται δ' Ὀνησίκρατος καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ Δαρείῳ τάφῳ γράμμα τοῦτο· ΦΙΛΟΣ ἦν τοῖς φίλοις· ἵππεύς καὶ τοξότης ἄριστος ἐγενόμην. κυνηγῶν ἐκράτην, πάντα ποιεῖν ἠδυνάμην.

|| This is the passage he alludes to in *Cuspinian*. "Ubi habilis per ætatem ad literas addiscendas fuit, magistro *Petro*, qui postea *Novæ Civitatis* Antistes erat, traditus, aliquot annis

Pastime. Yet some will say, that children, of nature, love pastime, and mis-
 Learnynge. like learning; because, in their kinde, the one is easie and pleasant,
 the other hard and werisome. Which is an opinion not so true, as some
 men weene. For, the matter lieth not so much in the disposition of
 them that be yong, as in the order and maner of bringing up, by
 them that be old; nor yet in the difference of learninge and pastime.
 For, beate a child if he daunce not well, and cherish him though he
 learne not well, ye shall have him unwilling to go to daunce, and glad
 to go to his booke: knocke him alwaies when he draweth his shafte ill,
 and favour him againe though he fault at his booke, ye shall have him
 verie loth to be in the field, and verie willing to be in the schole. Yea,
 I saie more, and not of myselfe, but by the judgement of those, from
 whom few wise men will gladlie dissent; that if ever the nature of man
 be given at any time, more than other, to receive goodnesse, it is in
 innocencie of yonge yeares, before that experience of evill have taken
 roote in him. For the pure cleane witte of a sweete yonge babe is like
 the newest wax, most hable to receive the best and fairest printing;
 and, like a new bright silver dishe never occupied, to receive, and kepe
 cleane, any good thyng that is put into it.

Will and
 Witte in
 children.

And thus will in children, wiselie wrought withall, maie easelie be
 won to be verie well willing to learne. "And witte in children, by na-
 "ture, namelie memorie, * the onely keie and keper of all learning, is
 "readiest to receive, and surest to kepe anie maner of thing that is learn-

"nis cum nobilium quorundam filiis contubernalibus Latinas didicit literas. Sed cum ejus
 "præceptor solis Dialecticis argutiis doctus, Sophismata illi inculcare vellet, ad quæ capeffen-
 "da aptus non erat, sæpius atrociter verberatus ab eo, magis ipse verberandus, (cùm verbera
 "servos deceant, non liberos) tandem effecit, ut literas magis odio haberet, quàm diligeret.
 "Quod tamen præcipuum esse debet addiscenti literas, quemadmodum omnes docent boni
 "præceptores.

"Audi ex ore divi Maximiliani hoc verbum, quod nunquam è memoria mea excidet,
 "quod jam Romanorum rex factus, in mensa, ut solebat de variis loqui, multis abstantibus,
 "dixerat. Si, inquit, hodie præceptor meus viveret Petrus, quanquam multa præceptoribus de-
 "beamus, efficerem, ut se instituisse me pæniteret. Quàm multa enim bonis præceptoribus, qui
 "recte instituunt pueros, debemus, tam multis plagis sunt onerandi indocti pædagogi, qui preti-
 "osissimum ætatis tempus perdunt, & ea docent, quæ dediscere multo labore necesse est."

* "Quid dicam de thesauro rerum omnium Memoria, quæ nisi custos inventis, cogitatisque
 "rebus, & verbis adhibeatur, intelligimus omnia, etiam si præclarissima fuerint, in oratore
 "peritura?" Cic. de Orat. lib. I.

"ed in youth." This, lewde and learned, by common experience, know to be most trewe. For we remember nothyng so well when we be olde, as those thinges which we learned when we were yonge: And this is not straunge, but common in all natures workes. Every man sees (as Yonge years I sayd before) new wax is best for printing; new claie fittest for work-^{aptest for} aptest for learyng; new shorn woll aptest for sone and surest dying; new fresh flesh for good and durable salting. And this similitude is not rude, nor borrowed of the larder-house, but out of his schole-house, of whom the wisest of *England* nede not be ashanied to learne. Yonge graftes grow not onlie sonest, but also fairest, and bring always forth the best and sweetest fruite; yonge whelpes learne easilie to carie; yonge popingeis learne quicklie to speake: and so, to be short, if in all other thinges, though they lacke reason, sens, and life, the similitude of youth is fittest to all goodnesse; surelie nature, in mankinde, is most beneficiall and effectuell in this behalfe.

Therefore, if to the goodnesse of nature be joyned the wisedome of the teacher, in leading yonge wittes into a right and plain way of learning, surelie children, kept up in Gods feare, and governed by his grace, maie most easilie be brought well to serve God and theyr contrey, both by vertue and wisedome.

But if will and witte, by farder age, be once allured from innocencie, delited in vaine fightes, filled with foull taulke, crooked with wilfulnesse, hardened with stubburnesse, and let louse to disobedience; surelie it is hard with jentlenesse, but unpossibile with severe crueltie, to call them backe to good frame againe. For where the one, perchance, maie bend it; the other shall surelie breake it; and so, insteade of some hope, leave an assured desperation, and *shamelesse contempt of all goodnesse; the fardest pointe in all mischief, as *Zenophon* doth most trewlie and most wittelie marke.

Zen. 1.
Cyril Ped.

* This is the passage, I suppose: "Επισθαι δὲ δοκεῖ μάλιστα τῇ ἀχαριστίᾳ ἢ ἀναισχυλίᾳ. καὶ γὰρ αὕτη μέγιστη δοκεῖ εἶναι ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ αἰσχροὶ ἡγεμῶν."

Therefore,

Therefore, to love or to hate, to like or contemne, to plie this waie or that waie, to good or to bad, ye shall have as ye use a childe in his youth.

Lady Jane
Grey.

And one example, whether love or feare doth worke more in a childe for vertue and learninge, I will gladlie report; which maie be hard with some pleasure, and folowed with more profit. Before I went into *Germanie*, † I came to *Brodegate* in *Leicestershire*, to take my leave of that noble Lady *Jane Grey*, to whom I was exceeding much beholdinge. Her parentes, the Duke and the Duches, with all the houshold, gentlemen and gentlewomen, were hunting in the parke. I found her in her chamber, readinge *Phædon Platonis* in *Greeke*, and that with as much delite, as some jentlemen would read a merie tale in *Bocace*. After salutation, and dewtie done, with some other taulke, I asked her, why she would leese such pastime in the parke? Smiling, she answered me; “ I wisse, all their sport in the parke is but a shadoe to that pleasure that I find in *Plato*. Alas! good folke, they never felt what trewe pleasure ment.” “ And howe came you, Madame, quoth I, to this deepe knowledge of pleasure? And what did chieflie allure you unto it, seeinge not many women, but verie fewe men, have attained thereunto.” “ I will tell you, quoth she, and tell you a truth, which perchance ye will marvell at. One of the greatest benefites that ever God gave me, is, that he sent me so sharpe and severe parentes, and so jentle a scholemaster. For when I am in presence eyther of father or mother; whether I speake, kepe silence, sit, stand, or go, eate, drinke, be merie, or sad, be sowyng, playing, dauncing, or doing anie thing else, I must do it, as it were, in such weight, measure, and number, even so perfitelie as God made the world, or else I am

† This discourse with this excellent lady, he thus expresse in a letter to his friend *Sturmius*.
 “ Hæc superiore ætate, cum amicos meos in agro Eboracensi viderem, & inde literis *Joannis*
 “ *Checi* in Aulam, ut huc proficiscerer, accitus sum, in via deflexi Leicestriam, ubi *Jana*
 “ *Graja* cum patre habitaret. Statim admissus sum in cubiculum: inveni nobilem puellam,
 “ Dii boni! legentem Græcè *Phædonem* *Platonis*; quem sic intelligit, ut mihi ipsi summam
 “ admirationem injiceret. Sic loquitur, & scribit Græcè, ut vera referenti vix fides adhiberi
 “ possit. Nacta est præceptorem *Joannem Elmarum*, utriusque linguæ valdè peritum; prop-
 “ ter humanitatem, prudentiam, usum, rectam religionem, & alia multa rectissimæ amicitiae
 “ vincula, mihi conjunctissimum.”

“ so sharplie taunted, so cruellie threatened, yea presentlie, sometimes,
 “ with pinches, nippes, and bobbes, and other waies, which I will not
 “ name for the honor I bear them, so without measure misordered, that
 “ I thinke myselfe in hell, till time come that I must go to Mr. *Elmer* ;
 “ who teacheth me so jentlie, so pleasantlie, with such fair allurements
 “ to learninge, that I thinke all the time nothing whiles I am with
 “ him. And when I am called from him, I fall on weeping, because
 “ whatsoever I do els, but learninge, is full of grief, trouble, feare,
 “ and whole misliking unto me. And thus my booke hath been so
 “ much my pleasure, and bringeth dayly to me more pleasure and
 “ more, that, in respect of it, all other pleasures, in very deede, be
 “ but trifles and troubles unto me.”

I remember this taulk gladly, both because it is so worthie of memorie,
 and because also it was the last taulke that ever I had, and the last
 tyme that ever I saw that noble and worthie ladie.

I could be over long, both in shewing just causes, and in recitinge
 trewe examples, why learning should be taught rather by love than
 feare. He that would see a perfite discourse of it, let him read that
 learned treatise which my friende *Joan. Sturmius* wrote, *De Institutione* Sturmius de
Principis, to the Duke of *Cleves*. Instit. Princ.

The godlie counsels of *Solomon* and *Jesus* the sonne of *Sirach*, for Qui parcit
 sharpe keeping in, and bridling of youthe, are ment rather for fatherlie virgæ, odit
 correction, than masterlie beating; rather for maners, than for learn- filium.
 inge; for other places, than for scholes. For God forbid, but all evill
 touches, wantonnes, lyinge, pickinge, slouth, will, stubbornnesse, and
 disobedience, should be, with sharpe chastisement, daily cut away.

This discipline was well known, and diligentlie used, among the
Grecians and old *Romanes*; as doth appeare in *Aristophanes*, *Isocrates*,
 and *Plato*, and also in the comedies of *Plautus*; where we see that chil-
 dren were under the rule of three persones, *Præceptore*, *Pædagogo*, 1. Schole-
Parente. The scholemaster taught him learninge with all jentlenesse; the master.
 governour corrected his maners with much sharpnesse; the father 2. Gover-
 held nour. 3. Father.

held the sterne of his whole obedience. And so, he that used to teache, did not commonlie use to beate, but remitted that over to another mans charge. But what shall we saie, when now, in our dayes, the scholemaster is used both for *Præceptor* in learninge, and *Pædagogus* in maners. Surely I would he should not confound their offices, but discretelie use the dewtie of both; so that neither ill touches should be left unpunished, nor jentlenesse in teachinge anie wise omitted. And he shall well do both, if wiselie he do appointe diversitie of time, and seperate place, for either purpose; using alwaies such discrete moderation, as the schole-house should be counted a sanctuarie against feare; and verie well learninge, a common pardon for ill doing, if the fault of it selfe be not over heinous.

The schole-house.

And thus the children, kept up in Gods feare, and preserved by his grace, finding paine in all ill doing, and pleasure in well studying, shold easelie be brought to honestie of life, and perfitnesse of learning; the onlie marke, that good and wise fathers do wishe and labour, that their children shold most busilie and carefullie shot at.

Youth of Englande brought up with too much libertie

Xen. 1.
Cyri Ped.

There is another discommoditie besides crueltie in scholemasters in beating away the love of learning from children; which hindreth learninge and vertue, and good bringing up of youth, and namelie young gentlemen, verie much in *Englande*. This fault is cleane contrary to the first. I wished before, to have love of learning bred up in children: I wishe as much now, to have young men brought up in good order of living, and in some more severe discipline, than commonlie they be. We have lacke in *Englande* of such good order, as the old noble *Persians* so carefullie used; whose children, to the age of twenty-one yeares, were brought up in learning, and exercises of labor; * and that in such place, where they shold neither see that was uncumlie, nor hear that was dishonest. Yea, a yong gentleman was never free to go where he would, and do what he liste himself; but under the kepe, and by the

* "Εἰν αὐτοῖς Ἐλευθέρα Ἀγορὰ καλεσμένη, ἔνθα τὰ τε βασιλεία καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀρχεῖα πεποιή-
ται. ἐντεῦθεν τὰ μὲν ἄντια, καὶ οἱ ἀγοραῖοι καὶ αἱ τέτων φωναί, καὶ ἀπειροκαλῖαι ἀπελήλανται εἰς
ἄλλον τόπον ὥς μὴ μιγνύηται ἡ τέτων τύρβη τῇ τῶν πεπαιδευμένων εὐκοσμῷ. I see no difference
between this college in *Persia*, and one here in *England*, excepting that theirs was joined to
the court, and so was more in the eye of their superiors and chief magistrates.

counsell,

counsell, of some grave governour, until he was either married, or called to bear some office in the common-wealth.

And see the great obedience that was used in old time to fathers and governours. No sonne, were he never so olde of years, never so great of birth, though he were a kinges sonne, might not marry, but by his fathers and mothers also consent. *Cyrus* the Great, after he had conquered *Babylon*, and subdued riche king *Cræsus*, with whole *Asia-minor*, cummyng tryumphantlie home, his uncle *Cyaxeris* offered him his daughter to wife. *Cyrus* thanked his uncle, and praised the maide; but for marriage, he answered him with thies wife and sweete wordes, as they be uttered by *Xenophon*; Ἄλλ', ὦ Κυαξάρη, τό, τε γένος ἐπαινῶ, καὶ τὴν παῖδα, καὶ δῶρα. βέλομαι δὲ, ἔφη, σὺν τῇ τῷ πατρὶος γνώμῃ καὶ τῇ τῆς μητρὸς ταῦτά σοι συναινέσαι, &c. That is to say, "Uncle *Cyaxeris*, I commend the stocke, I like the maide, and I allow well the dowrie, but" (sayth he) by the counsell and consent of my father and mother, I "will determine farther of thies matters."

Xen. 8.
Cyri Pæd.

Strong *Samson* also in Scripture saw a maide that liked him; but he spake not to her, but went home to his father and his mother, and desired* both father and mother to make the marriage for him. Doth this modestie, doth this obedience, that was in great king *Cyrus*, and stout *Samson*, remaine in our young men at this daie? No surelie: for we live not longer after them by tyme, than we live farre different from them by good order. Our tyme is so farre from that old discipline and obedience, as now, not onlie young gentlemen, but even verie girles dare, without all feare, though not without open shame, where they list, and how they list, marrie themselves in spite of father,

* The same dutiful regard *Homer* takes care to make *Achilles* expresse in his speech to the legates sent by *Agamemnon*, *Iliad*. I. 393.

Ἦν γὰρ δὴ με σώσει θεοί, καὶ οἶκαδ' ἵκωμαι,
Πηλεὺς θῆν' μοι ἐπεῖτα γυναῖκα γαμέσσειν αὐτός.

"Nam, ut inquit *Grotius*, si in omnibus rebus filii reverentiam parentibus debent, certe præcipue eam debent in eo negotio, quod ad gentem totam pertinet, quale sunt nuptiæ." So *Hermione* in *Euripides*, though I think her character none of the best, makes this reply to *Orestes*:

Νυμφευμάτων μὲν τῶν ἐμῶν πατὴρ ἐμὸς
Μέριμναν ἔχει, καὶ ἐμὸν κρίνειν ταδε.

Andromache, v. 987.

G g

mother,

mother, God, good order, and all. The cause of this evill is, that youth is least looked unto, when they stand most neede of good kepe and regard. It availeth not, to see them well taught in yong yeares, and after when they come to lust and youthfull dayes, to give them licence to live as they lust themselves. For if ye suffer the eye of a yong gentleman once to be entangled with vaine sightes, and the eare to be corrupted with fond or filthie taulke, the mynde shall quiccklie fall sick, and sone vomit, and cast up all the holesome doctrine, that he received in childhoode, though he were never so well brought up before. And being ones ingluttred with vanitie, he will streightway lothe all learning, and all good counsell to the same; and the parentes, for all their great cost and charge, reape onelie in the end the fruite of grief and care.

Great mens
sonnes worst
brought up.

This evill is not common to poore men, as God will have it, butt proper to riche and great mens children, as they deserve it. Indeede from seven to seventeene, young gentlemen commonlie be carefulle enough brought up; "but from seventeene to seven and twentie (* the
" most dangerous tyme of all mans life, and most slipperie to stay
" well in) they have commonlie the reine of all licens in their owne
" hand, and especiallie soch as do live in the court." And that which is most to be marveled at, commonlie the wisest and also best men, be found the fondest fathers in this behalfe. And if some good father would seik some remedie herein, yet the mother (if the house hold of our lady) had rather, yea and will to, have her sonne cunnyng and bold, in making him to live trimlie when he is young, than by learning and travell, to be able to serve his prince and his countrie, both wiselie in peace, and stoutelie in warre, when he is old.

Wise men
fond fathers.

Meane mens
sonnes come
to great au-
thoritie.

The fault is in yourselves, ye noble mens sonnes, and therefore ye deserve the greater blame, that commonlie the meaner mens children come to be the wisest counsellors, and greatest doers, in the weightie affaires of this realme. And why? for God will have it so of his providence, because ye will have it no otherwise by your negligence.

* So says *Xenophon* in his first book of the Institution of *Cyrus*: Δουκὶ γὰρ αὕτη ἡ ἡλικία μάλιστα ἐπιμελείας δεῖσθαι.

And

And God is a good God, and wisest in all his doings, that will place vertue, and displace vice, in those kingdomes where he doth governe. "For he knoweth, that nobilitie without vertue and wisdom, Nobilitie
" is bloud indeed, but bloud trowellie without bones and sinewes; and without wis-
" so of it selfe, without the other, verie weake to beare the burden of dome.
" weightie affaires."

The greatest shippe indeede commonlie carieth the greatest burden, but yet alwayes with the greatest jeopardie, not onlie for the persons and goodes committed unto it, but even for the shippe it selfe, except it be governed with the greater wisdom.

But nobilitie, governed by learning and wisdom, is indeed, most Nobilitie
like a faire shippe, havynge tide and winde at will, under the rule of a with wis-
skilfull master: when contrariwise, a shippe caried, yea with the hi- dome.
est tide and greatest winde, lacking a skilfull master, most commonlie Without
doth either sink it selfe upon sandes, or breake it selfe upon rockes. And wisdom.
even so, how manie have been either drowned in vaine pleasure, or Vaine plea-
overwhelmed by stout wilfulness, the histories of *England* be able to sure, and
affourde over many examples unto us. Therefore, ye great and no- stout wilful-
blemens children, if ye will have rightfullie that praise, and enjoie ness, two
surelie that place, which your fathers have, and elders had, and left greatest ene-
unto you, ye must kepe it as they gat it; and that is, by the onlie mies to nobi-
waie of vertue, wisdom, and worthinesse. litie.

For wisdom and virtue, there be manie faire examples in this court for young gentlemen to follow; but they be like faire markes in the field, out of a mans reach, to far of to shote at well. The best and worthiest men, indeede, be sometimes seen, but seldom taulked withall. A young gentleman may sometime knele to their person, but smallie use their companie for their better instruction.

But young gentlemen are faine commonlie to do in the Court, as young archers do in the field; that is, take such markes as be nie them, although they be never so foule to shoote at: I meane, they be driven Ill companie
to kepe companie with the worst: and what force ill companie hath marreth
to corrupt good wittes, the wisest men know best. youth.

The court
judgeth
worst of the
best natures
in youth.

And not ill companie onlie, but the ill opinion also of the most part doth moch harme; and namelie of those which shold be wise in the trewe decyphring, of the good disposition of nature, of comlineffe in courtlie manners, and all right doinges of men.

Xen. 1.
Cyri Pæd.

But errour, and phantasie, do commonlie occupie the place of troth and judgement. For, if a yong gentleman be demure and still of nature, they say he is simple, and lacketh witte; if he be bashfull, and will soone blushe, they call him a babishe and ill brought up thyng; when *Xenophon* doth preciselie note in *Cyrus*, that “* his bashfulnesse in youth, was the verie trewe signe of his vertue and stoutnes after.” If he be innocent and ignorant of ill, they say he is rude, and hath no grace: so ungraciousslie do some gracelesse men misuse the faire and godlie word GRACE!

The grace in
court.

But if ye would know what grace they meene, go and looke, and learne amonges them, and ye shall see that it is,

Grace of
court.

First, to blush at nothing. “And blushing in youth,” sayth *Aristotle*, † “is nothing else but feare to do ill:” which feare beyng once lustely fraid away from youth, then followeth to dare do any mischief; to contemne stoutly any goodnesse; to be busie in every matter; to be skilfull in every thing; to acknowledge no ignorance at all. To do thus in court, is counted of some the chief and greatest grace of all; and termed by the name of a vertue, called courage and boldnesse; when *Cicero* teacheth the cleane contrarie, and that most wittelie, saying thus; *Audere, cum bonis etiam rebus conjunctum, per seipsum est magnopere fugiendum*: which is to say, “To be bold, yea in a good matter, not matter, is for itself greatlie to be eschewed.”

More grace
of court.

Moreover, where the fwing goeth, there to follow, fawne, flatter, laugh, and lie lustelie at other mens liking; to face, stand foremost,

* Ως δὲ προῆλθεν ὁ χρόνος αὐτὸν σὺν τῷ μεγέθει εἰς ὥραν τὰ πρόσθετον γενέσθαι, ἐν τῷ δὴ τοῖς μὲν λόγοις βραχυτέροις ἐχρήτο, καὶ τῇ φωνῇ ἡσυχαιτέρα αἰδῶς δὲ ἐνεπίμπλοιο, ὥστε καὶ ἐρυθραίνεσθαι, ὅποτε συνιὺσχανοὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις.

† Αἰσχύνῃ, φόβος δικαίᾳ ψόγῃ. *Arist. Magn. Moral. Menander*, Ἐρυθρίων πᾶς χρεσὺς εἶναι μοι δοκεῖ. *Terence's* expression is well known: *Erubuit: salva res est.*

shove backe; and to the meaner man, or unknown in the court, to seeme somewhat folume, coye, big, and dangerous of looke, taulk, and answere: to think well of himselfe, to be lustie in contemning of others, to have some trim grace in a privie mock: and in greater presens, to beare a brave looke; to be warlike, though he never looked enimie in the face in warre; yet some warlike signe must be used, either a flovnglie busking, or an overfaring frounced hed, as though out of everie haeres toppe should suddenlie start out a good big othe, when nede requireth. Yet, praised be God, *England* hath at this time manie ^{Men of} worthie captaines and good souldiours; which be indeede so honest ^{warre best of} of behaviour, so cumlie of conditions, so milde of maners, as they may ^{conditions.} be examples of good order, to a good fort of others, which never came in warre.

But to returne where I left: in place also to be able to raise taulke, and make discourse of everie rishe; to have a verie good will to hear himselfe speake; to be seen in palmistrie, whereby to conveye to chaste ^{Palmistrie.} eares, some fond or filthie taulke. And if some *Smithfield* ruffian take up some strange going, some new mowing with the mouth, some wrinching with the shoulders, some brave proverbe, some fresh new othe, that is not stale, but will rin round in the mouth; some new disguised garment, or desperate hat, fond in facion, or gaurish in colour, whatsoever it cost, how small soever his living be, by what shift soever it be gotten, gotten must it be, and used with the first, or else the grace of it is stale and gone. Some part of this gracelesse grace was discribed by me in a little rude ~~verse~~ long ago.

To laughe, to lie, to flatter, to face,

Foure waies in court to win men grace.

If thou be thrall to none of thiese,

Away good Peekgoose, hens John Cheese.

Marke well my word, and marke their dede,

And thinke this verse part of thy crede.

Would to God this taulke were not trewe, and that some mens doings were not thus. I write not to hurte any, but to profit some; to accuse none, but to monish soch who, allured by ill counsell, and following

Ill counsell
and ill com-
panie.

Serving-men.

Terentius.
Plautus.

Servicorruptelæ juve-
num.

Multi Getæ,
pauci Par-
menones.

ing ill examples, contrarie to their good bringyng up, and against their own good nature, yeld over moch to thies folies and faultes: I know many serving men, of good order, and well staide: and againe, I heare saie, there be some serving men do but ill service to their yong masters. Yea, rede *Terence* and *Plautus* advisedlie over, and ye shall finde in those two wise writers, almost in every comedie, no unthrifitie yong man, that is not brought thereunto by the sotle inticement of some lewd servant. And even now in our dayes, *Getæ*, and *Davi*, *Gnathos*, and manie bold bawdie *Phormios* to, be preasing in to prattle on everie stage, to meddle in everie matter; when honest *Parmenos* shall not be heard, but beare small swing with their masters. Their companie, their taulke, their over great experience in mischief, doth easelie corrupt the best natures, and best brought up wittes.

But I mervle the lesse that thies misorders be amonges some in the court; for commonlie in the contrie also everie where, innocencie is gone, bashfulnesse is vanished; moch presumption in youthe, small authoritie in aige; reverence is neglected, dewties be confounded; and, to be shorte, disobedience doth overflow the banks of good order, almoste in everie place, almoste in everie degree of man.

Meane men have eies to see, and cause to lament, and occasion to complaine of thies miseries; but others have authoritie to remedie them, and will do so to, when God shall think time fitte. For all thies misorders be Goddes juste plages, by his sufferance brought justlie upon us, for our sinnes, which be infinite in nomber, and horrible in deede; but namelie, for the greate abhominable sin of unkindnesse. But what unkindnesse? Even such unkindnesse as was in the *Jewes*, in contemning Goddes voice, in shrinking from his worde, in wishing backe againe for *Egypt*, in committing aduoultrie and hordom, not with the women, but with the doctrine of *Babylon*; did bring all the plages, destructions, and captivities, that fell so ofte and horrible upon *Israel*.

Contempt of
Gods trewe
religion.

We have cause also in *England* to beware of unkindnesse, who have had, in so fewe yeares, the candel of Goddes worde so oft lightned, so oft

oft put out; and yet will venture, by our unthankfulnesse in doctrine and finfull life, to leese againe lighte, candle, candlesticke and all.

Doctrina,
Mores.

God kepe in us his feare; God grafte in us the trewe knowledge of his worde, with a forward will to follow it, and so to bryng forth the sweete frutes of it; and then shall he preserve us by his grace, from all manner of terrible dayes.

The remedie of this, doth not stand onelie in making good common lawes for the hole realme, but also (and perchance chieflie) in observing private discipline, everie man carefullie in his own house; and namelie if special regard be had to youth; and that, not so much in teaching them what is good, as in keeping them from that that is ill.

Publicæ le-
ges.
Domestica
disciplina.
Cognitio bo-
ni,
Ignoratio
mali.

Therefore, if wise fathers be not as well aware in weedeing from their children ill things and ill companie, as they were before in graftinge in them learning, and providing for them good scholemasters, what frute they shall reape of all their coste and care, common experience doth tell.

Here is the place, in youth is the time when some ignorance is as necessarie, as moch knowledge; and not in matters of our dewtie towards God, as some wilful wittes willinglie against their owne knowledge, perniciously against their owne conscience, have of late openlie taught. Indeede St. *Chrysostome*, that noble and eloquent doctor, * in a sermon "*contra Fatum*, and the curious serching of nativities," doth wisely saie, that "ignorance therein, is better than knowledge." But to wring this sentence, to wreste thereby out of mens handes the knowledge of Goddes doctrine, is without all reason, against common sense,

Some igno-
rance as
good as
knowledge.
Chrysost. de
Fato.

* The passage here pointed to, is in St. *Chrysostome's* fifth Discourse *περὶ Εἰμαρμένῃς καὶ Προνοίας*. A captious question being put, *How comes one man to be rich, and another poor?* he answers, "Though we were never so ignorant of the reasons of these things, yet 'tis far better to continue in our ignorance, than to admit of any impious tenet or opinion. Βέλτιον γὰρ ἀγνοεῖν καλῶς, ἢ εἶδέναι κακῶς· τὸ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἔχει κατήγοριον, τὸ δὲ ἀπεδείρηται συγχνώμης. Tom. 6. pag. 878. edit. Savil. To this I shall subjoin, what we meet with in *Aeschylus*, δόγμα Ἐπικύρειον, as the scholiast calls it:

Τὸ μὴ μαθεῖν σοὶ κρείσσον, ἢ μαθεῖν τὰς.

contrarie

Julianus A- contrarie to the judgement also of them, which be the discretest men,
postata. and best learned, on their own side. I know * *Julianus Apostata* did so;
but I never hard or red, that any auncyent father of the primitive church,
either thought or wrote so.

Innocencie But this ignorance in youthe, which I spake on, or rather this sim-
in youth. plicitie, or most trewlie, this innocencie, is that, which the noble *Per-
sians*, as wise *Xenophon* doth testifie, were so careful to breede up their
youthe in. But christian fathers commonlie do not so. And I will
tell you a tale, as moch to be misliked, as the *Persians* example is to
be folowed.

A child ill This last Somer I was in a jentlemans house, where a young childe,
brought up. somewhat past four yeare olde, could in no wise frame his tonge, to
saie a little shorte grace; and yet he could roundly rap out so manie
uglie othes, and those of the newest facion, as some good man of four-
score year olde hath never hard named before. And that which was
Ill parents. most detestable of all, his father and mother would laughe at it. I
moche doubte what comforte an other daie this childe shall bring unto
them. This childe usinge moch the company of servingmen, and gev-
inge good eare to their taulke, did easilie learne, which he shall hard-
lie forget all the daies of his life hereafter. So likewise in the courte,
if a yong gentleman will venture himselfe into the companie of ruffi-
ans, it is over great a jeopardie, lest their facions, maners, thoughts,
Ill companie. taulke, and deedes, will verie sone be over like. "The confounding
" of companies, breedeth confusion of good maners, both in the courte
" and everie where else."

And it maie be a great wonder, but a greater shame, to us christian
Isocrates. men, to understand what a heithen writer, *Isocrates*, doth leave in

* *Julian* put forth a severe edict, whereby he forbad the Christians publickly in the scholes
either to teach, or study humane literature. For which *Gregory Nazianzene* thus warmly in-
veighs against him, though playing too much with the word λόγος. Κακείνῳ πρέπεια δίκη,
λόγῳ κολάζεσθαι ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰς λόγους παρανομίας. ὅντων κοινῶν ὄντων λογικοῖς ἀπασι, ὡς ἰδίων
αὐτῶν, Χριστιάνοις ἐφθόνησεν, ἀλογώτατα περὶ λόγων διανοηθεὶς ὁ πάντων, ὡς ᾤετο, λογιώτατος.
Στηλ. α'. pag. 4. edit. Eton. "Illud autem inclemens, obruendum perenni silentio, quod
" arcebat docere magistros rhetoricos & grammaticos ritus Christiani cultores." *Ammianus
Marcellinus*, lib. 21.

memorie of writing, concerning the care that the noble citie of *Athens* had, to bring up their youthe in honest companie, and vertuous discipline; whose taulke in *Greke*, is to this effect in *Englishe*.

"The citie was not more carefull to see their children well taughte, In Orat.
"than to see their young men well governed; which they brought to Ariopag.
"passe, not so much by common lawe, as by private discipline. For
"they had more regard, that their youthe by good order should not
"offend, than how, by lawe, they might be punished; and if offense
"were committed, there was neither waie to hide it, nor hope of
"pardon for it. Good natures were not so moch openly praised, as
"they were secretlie marked, and watchfullie regarded, lest they should
"lease the goodnes they had. Therefore, in sholes of singing and
"dancing, and other honest exercises, governours were appointed,
"more diligent to oversee their good maners, than their masters were
"to teach them anie learning. It was some shame to a young man
"to be seen in the open market; and if for businesse he passed through
"it, he did it with a marvelous modestie, and bashefull facion. To
"eate or drinke in a taverne, was not onlie a shame, but also punish-
"able, in a yong man. To contrarie, or to stand in termes with an
"olde man, was more henious, * than in some place to rebuke and
"scholde with his owne father." With manie other mo good orders,
and faire disciplines, which I referre to their reading, that have lust to
looke upon the description of soch a worthie common wealthe.

And to know what worthie frute did spring of soch worthie fede, Good fede
I will tell you the most mervell of all, and yet soch a trothe, as no worthie frute

* In this citation out of *Isocrates*, Mr. *Ascham* has rather given the sense of several passages, than a strict translation of his author: and perhaps he might trust to his memory, without consulting the original; which is no uncommon thing with learned men. What is here expressed, *than in some place*, is in the Greek, *ἢ νῦν*: which is not a comparison between *Athens*, and some other state, in point of strict discipline and regularity of manners, but a complaint of a decay herein, and of a degeneracy in the present age from the good conduct of former times.

The latter part, where he keeps somewhat closer to the original, I shall transcribe: Οὕτω δ' ἔφευγον τὴν ἀγορὰν, ὥς εἰ καὶ πόλε διελθεῖν ἀναγκασθεῖεν, μετὰ πολλῆς αἰδῆς καὶ σώφροσύνης ἐφαίνοντο τὸ τοιοῦτον. ἀνείπειν δὲ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις, ἢ λοιδορήσασθαι, δεινότερον ἐνόμιζεν, ἢ νῦν περὶ τῆς γονέας ἐξαμαρτάνειν. ἐν καπηλείῳ δὲ φαγεῖν ἢ πιεῖν, ἅθεις ὅσον οἰκίτης ἐπιεικῆς ἐτόλμησε.

man shall denie it, except soch as be ignorant in knowledge of the best stories.

Athens.

Athens, by this discipline and good ordering of youthe, did breede up, within the circute of that one citie, within the compas of one hondred yeares, within the memorie of one mans life, so manie notable captaines in warre, for worthinesse, wisdome and learning, as be scarce matchable,

Rome.

no not in the state of *Rome*, in the compas of those seven hondred yeares, when it flourished moste.

The noble
captaines of
Athens.

And because I will not onlie saie it, but also prove it, the names of them be these: *Miltiades*, *Themistocles*, *Xantippus*, *Pericles*, *Cymon*, *Alcibiades*, *Thrasybulus*, *Conon*, *Iphicrates*, *Xenophon*, *Timotheus*, *Theopompus*, *Demetrius*, and divers other mo: of which everie one, maie justlie be spoken that worthie praise, which was geven to *Scipio Africanus*, who *Cicero* douteth, "whether he were more noble captaine in warre, or "more eloquent and wise councelor in peace." And if ye believe not me, read diligentlie * *Æmilius Probus* in *Latin*, and *Plutarche* in *Greeke*; which two had no cause either to flatter or lie upon any of those which I have recited.

Æmil. Pro-
bus.
Plutarchus.

The learned
men of A-
thens.

And besides nobilitie in warre, for excellent and matchless masters in all maner of learninge, in that one citie, in memorie of one age, were mo learned men, and that in a manner altogether, than all tyme doth remember, than all place doth affourde, than all other tonges do containe. And I do not meane of those authors, which, by injurie of tyme, by negligence of men, by crueltie of fier and sworde, be lost; but even of those, which by Goddes grace, are left yet unto us; of which, I thank God, even my poore studie lacketh not one. As in philosophie, *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Xenophon*, *Euclide*, and *Theophrast*: in eloquence and civill lawe, *Demosthenes*, *Æschines*, *Lycurgus*, *Dinarchus*, *Demades*, *Isocrates*, *Isæus*, *Lyfias*, *Antisthenes*, *Andocides*: in historie, *Herodotus*, *Thucydides*, *Xenophon*, and which we lacke, to our great losse, *Theopompus* and *Ephorus*:

* *Cornelius Nepos*, whose works by a mistake have gone under the name of *Æmilius Probus*; who seems to have no other title to them, than as he took care to have them copied out for the use of the Emperor *Theodosius*.

in poetrie, *Æschylus*, *Sophocles*, *Euripides*, *Aristophanes*, and somewhat of *Menander*, *Demosthenes* sister sonne.

Now let *Italian*, and *Latin* itself, *Spanishe*, *French*, *Douch*, and *Eng-^{Learning}* *lishe*, bring forth their learning, and recite their authors, *Cicero* onlie ^{chiefly con-} excepted, and one or two moe in *Latin*, they be all patched cloutes and ^{tained in the} ragges, in comparifon of faire woven broade clothes; and trewlie, if ^{Greke, and} there be any good in them, it is either lerned, borrowed, or stolne, ^{in no other} from some of those worthie wittes of *Athens*. ^{tonge.}

The remembrance of foch a common welthe, using foch discipline and order for youthe, and thereby bringing forth to their praise, and leaving to us for our example, foch capitaines for warre, foch counsellors for peace, and matchles masters for all kinde of learninge, is pleasant for me to recite, and not irksom, I trust, for others to heare, except it be foch, as make neither counte of virtue nor learninge.

And whether there be anie foch, or no, I cannot well tell; yet I heare ^{Contemners} faie, some yonge gentlemen of oures, count it their shame to be count- ^{of learning.} ed learned; and perchance they count it their shame, to be counted honest also; for I heare faie, they meddle as little with the one, as with the other. A marvelous case, that gentlemen should so be ashamed of good learning, and never a whit ashamed of ill manners! Soch do faie for them, that the gentlemen of *France* do so; which is a lie, as God will have it. *Langæus*, and *Bellæus* that be dead, and the noble *Vidam* ^{Gentlemen} of *Chartres*, that is alive, and infinite mo in *France*, which I heare tell ^{of France.} of, prove this to be most false. And though some in *France*, which will nedes be gentlemen, whether men will or no, and have more gentleshippe in their hat, than in their head, be at deadlie feude, with both learning and honestie; yet I believe, if * that noble prince, King *Frân-* ^{Franciscus I.} *cis* the first, were alive, they should have neither place in his courte, ^{nobilis. Fran-} nor pension in his warres, if he had knowledge of them. This opi- ^{corum rex.} nion is not *French*, but plaine *Turkishe*, from whens some *Frenche* fetch moe faultes than this; which, I praie God, kepe out of *England*, and

* *Erasmus*, whose friendship this excellent prince courted very much, gives us this account of him: "Magis habet studio, ut regnum suum optimis legibus, incorruptis moribus, honestissimis studiis locupletet, exornet, illustret, quam ut ditionis suæ pomœria proferat."

send also those of oures better mindes, which bend themselves againste vertue and learninge, to the contempte of God, dishonor of their contrie, to the hurt of manie others, and at lengthe, to the greatest harme and utter destruction of themselves.

Experience
without
learning.

Some other, having better nature, but lesse witte, (for ill commonlie have over much witte) do not utterlie dispraise learning, but they saie, that without learning, common experience, knowledge of all facions, and haunting all companies, shall worke in youthe both wisdome, and abilitie, to execute anie weightie affaire. Surelie long experience doth proffet much, but moſte, and almoſt onelie to him (if we meane honest affaires) that is diligentlie before instructed with preceptes of well doinge. For good preceptes of learning be the eyes of the minde, to looke wifelie before a man, which waie to go right, and which not.

Learning.
Experience.

Learning teacheth more in one yeare, than experience in twentie; and learning teacheth ſafelie, when experience maketh mo miserable than wiſe. He haſardeth fore, that waxeth wiſe by experience. An unhappy maſter he is, that is made cunning by manie ſhippewrakes; a miserable merchant, that is neither riche nor wiſe, but after ſome bank-routes. It is coſtlye wiſdom that is bought by experience. We know by experience itſelfe, that it is a marvelous paine, to find out but a ſhort waie by long wandering. And ſurelie, he that would prove wiſe by experience, he maie be wittie indeede, but even like a ſwift runner, that runneth faſt out of his waie, and upon the night, he knoweth not whither. And verelie they be feweſt in number that be happie or wiſe by unlearned experience. And looke well upon the former life of thoſe fewe, whether your example be old or yonge, who without learning have gathered, by long experience, a little wiſdome, and ſome happineſſ; and when you do conſider, what miſchiefe they have committed, what dangers they have eſcaped, (and yet twentie for one do periſhe in the adventure) then thinke well with your ſelfe, whether ye wold that your owne ſon ſhould come to wiſdome and happineſſ by the waie of ſuch experience, or no.

Syr Roger
Chamloe.

It is a notable tale, that old Syr Roger Chamloe, ſometime chiefe juſtice, wold tell of himſelfe. When he was *Auncient* in inn of court,
certaine

certaine yong gentlemen were brought before him to be corrected for certaine misorders; and one of the lustiest saide, "Syr, we be yong gentlemen; and wise men before us have proved all facions, and yet those have done full well." This they said, because it was well known, Syr Roger had bene a good fellowe in his youth. But he answered them verie wiselie: "Indeede, faith he, in youthe I was as you are now: and I had twelve fellowes like unto myself, but not one of them came to a good ende. And therefore, folow not my example in youth, but folow my counsell in aige, if ever ye thinke to come to this place, or to thies yeares, that I am come unto; lesse ye meete either with povertie or *Ti-burn* in the way."

Thus, experience of all facions in youthe, beinge in profe alwaife dangerous, in ishue feldom luckie, is a waie indeede to over moch knowledge; yet used commonlie of soch men, which be either caried by some curious affection of mynde, or driven by some hard necessitie of life, to hafard the triall of over manie perilous adventures.

Erasmus, the honor of learning of all oure time, saide wiselie, "that experience is the common scholehouse of fooles, and ill men. Men of witte and honestie, be otherwise instructed. For there be, that kepe them out of fier, and yet was never burned; that be ware of water, and yet was never nie drowninge; that hate harlottes, and was never at the stewes; that abhorre fallhoode, and never brake promis themselves."

But will ye see a fit similitude of this adventured experience? A father that doth let louse his son to all experiences, is most like a fond hunter, that letteth slippe a whelpe to the hole herde: twentie to one, he shall fall upon a rascall, and let go the faire game. Men that hunt so, be either ignorant persones, privie stealers, or night walkers.

Learning therefore, ye wise fathers, and good bringing up, and not blinde and dangerous experience, is the next and readiest waie, that must lede your children, first to wisdom, and then to worthinesse, if ever ye purpose they shall come there.

And

How experience may profit.

And to saie all in shorte, though I lacke authoritie to give counsell, yet I lack not good will to wishe, that the youthe in *England*, speciallie gentlemen, and namelie nobilitie, shold be by good bringing up so grounded in judgement of learninge, so founded in love of honestie, as when they should be called forthe to the execution of great affaires, in service of their prince and contrie, they might be hable to use, and to order all experiences, were they good, were they bad, and that according to the square, rule, and line, of wisdom, learning and vertue.

Diligent learning ought to be joyned with pleasant pastimes, namelie in a gentleman.

And I do not meene, by all this my taulke, that yong gentlemen should alwaies be poring on a booke, and by using good studies, shold leafe honest pleasure, and haunt no good pastime; I meane nothing lesse: for it is well knowne, that I bothe like and love, and have alwaies, and do yet still use all exercises and pastimes, that be fitte for my nature and habilitie. And beside naturall disposition, in judgement also I was never, either stoick in doctrine, or anabaptist in religion, to mislike a merie, pleasant, and plaifull nature; if no outrage be committed against lawe, measure, and good order.

Learning joyned with pastimes.

Musæ.

Apollo.

Pallas.

Learning rewleth both warre and peace.

Therefore I would wishe, that beside some good time, fitlie appointed, and constantlie kepte, to encrease by reading the knowledge of the tongues, and learning; yong gentlemen shold use, and delite in all courtlie exercises, and gentlemanlike pastimes. And good cause why: for the self same noble citie of *Athens*, justlie commended of me before, did wiselie, and upon great consideration, appoint the Muses, *Apollo*, and *Pallas*, to be patrones of learning to their youthe. For the muses, besides learning, were also ladies of dauncinge, mirth and minstrelsie: *Apollo* was god of shooting, and author of cunning playing upon instrumentes; *Pallas* also was ladie mistres in warres. Wherebie was nothing else ment, but that learning should be alwaies mingled with honest mirth, and comlie exercises; and that warre also shold be governed by learning, and moderated by wisdom; as did well appeare in those captaines of *Athens* named by me before, and also in *Scipio* and *Cæsar*, the two diamondes of *Rome*. And *Pallas* was no more feared in weering *Ægida*, than she was praised for chosing *Olivam*; whereby shineth the glory of learning, which thus was governor and mistres, in the noble citie of *Athens*, both of warre and peace.

Therefore

Therefore to ride comlie, to run faire at the tilte or ring; to plaie at all weapones, to shote faire in bow, or surelie in gun; to vant lustely; to runne, to leape, to wrestle, to swimme; to daunce comlie, to sing, and play on instrumentes cunnyngly; to hawke, to hunte; to playe at tennes, and all pastimes generally, which be joyned with labor, used in open place, and on the day light, conteining either some fitte exercise for warre, or some pleasant pastime for peace, be not onlie comlie and decent, but also verie necessarie for a courtlie gentleman to use.

The pastimes that be fitte for courtlie gentlemen.

But of all kinde of pastimes, fitte for a gentleman, I will, God willing, in fitter place more at large declare fullie, in my "book of the Cockpitte;" which I do write to satisfie some, I trust with some reason, that be more curious in marking other mens doinges, than careful in mending their own faultes. And some also will nedes busie themselves in merveling, and adding thereunto unfrendlie taulke; why I, a man of good yeares, and of no ill place, I thanke God and my prince, do make choise to spend foch tyme in writyng of trifles; as "the Schole of Shooting, the Cockpitte, and this booke of the first principles of Grammar," rather than to take some weightie matter in hand, either of religion, or civill discipline.

The Cockpitte.

Wise men, I know, will well allow of my choise herein; and as for foch, who have not witte of themselves, but must learne of others to judge right of mens doynge, let them read that wise poet *Horace*, in his *Arte Poetica*, who willet men to be ware of hie and loftie titles. For great shippes require costlie tackling, and also afterward dangerous government: small boates be neither verie chargeable in making, nor verie oft in great jeopardie; and yet they carry many tymes as good and costlie ware as greater vessels do. A meane argument may easilie beare the light burden of a small faute, and have alwaie at hand a ready excuse for ill handling; and some praise it is, if it so chaunce to be better in deede than a man dare venture to seeme. A hie title doth charge a man with the heaue burden of too great a promise; and therefore sayth *Horace* verie wittelie, that that poete was a very foole that began hys booke with a good verse indeede, but over proude a promise:

A booke of a loftie title beareth the brag of over greate a promise.

The right choice to choose a fitte argument to write upon.

Hor. in Arte Poet.

For-

Fortunam Priami cantabo, & nobile bellum:

And after as wifelie;

Quanto rectius hic, qui nil molitur inepte? &c.

Homers wisdom in choice of his argument.

meaning *Homer*; who, within the compasse of a small argument of one harlot, and of one good wife, did utter so moch learning in all kind of sciences*, as, by the judgement of *Quintilian*, "he deserveth so "hie a praise, that no man yet deserved to sit in the second degree "beneth him." And thus much out of my waie, concerning my purpose in spending penne, and paper, and tyme, upon trifles; and name-lie to aunswere some, that have neither witte nor learning to do any thyng themselves, neither will nor honestie, to fay well of others.

The Cortegian, an excellent booke for a gentleman.

To joine learning with comlie exercises, *Conto Baldesar Castiglione*, in his booke *Cortegiane*, doth trimlie teache: which booke, advisedlie read, and diligentlie followed, but one yeare at home in *Englande*, would do a yong gentleman more good, I wisse, than three yeares travell abroad in *Italie*. And I mervell this booke is no more read in the court than it is; seeing it is † so well translated into *Englishe* by a worthie gentleman, *Syr Tho. Hobbie*, who was many wayes well furnished with learning, and very expert in knowledge of divers tonges.

Examples better than preceptes.

And beside good preceptes in bookes, in all kind of tonges, this court also never lacked many faire examples for yong gentlemen to follow. And surelie one example is more valuable, both to good and ill, than twentie preceptes written in bookes; and so *Plato*, not in one or two, but diverse places, doth plainlie teach.

* *Quintilianus, lib. x.* "Utar verbis, quæ ex Afro Domitio juvenis accepi: qui mihi in-
"terroganti, quem Homero crederet maximè accedere; *secundus*, inquit, *est Virgilius*; pro-
"pter tamen primo, quàm tertio."

† This book was soon after (and perhaps the sooner for this great character here given) translated into excellent Latin by Mr. *Clerke*, Fellow of King's College in *Cambridge*, with this title; *Balthasaris Castilionis comitis de curiali, sive Aulico, libri quatuor, ex Italico sermone in Latinum conversi.*

If Kyng *Edward* had lived a little longer, his onely example had bred King Ed. 6. foch a race of worthie learned gentlemen, as this realme never yet did affourde.

And in the second degree, two noble primeroses of nobilitie, * the yong Duke of *Suffolke*, and † Lord *Hen. Matravers*, were foch two ex-
The yong Duke of Suffolke.
Lord H. Matravers.
 amples to the court for learnyng, as our tyme may rather wishe than look for agayne.

At *Cambridge* also, in *St. John's* college, in my tyme, I do know, that not so much the good statutes, as two gentlemen of worthie memorie, Syr *John Cheke*, and Dr. *Readman*, by their only example of
Syr John Cheke.
Dr. Readman.
 excellency in learnyng, of godlynes in livyng, of diligence in studying, of counsell in exhorting, by good order in all thyngs, did breed up so many learned men in that one college of *St. John's*, at one tyme, as I believe the whole universitie of *Lovaine* in many yeares, was never able to affourd.

Present examples of this present tyme I list not to touch; yet there is one example for all the gentlemen of this court to follow, that may well satisfie them, or nothing will serve them, nor no example move them to goodnes and learnyng.

* The most noble *Henry Brandon*, Duke of *Suffolk*, with his brother *Charles*, were both carried off by the sweating-sicknes at the same time. Their death Dr. *Haddon* laments in an elegant oration very affectionately: "Postquam inundantes, & in Cantabrigiam effervescentes æstivi sudores, illud præstans & aureolum par Suffolciensium fratrum, tum quidem peregrinatum à nobis, sed tamen planè nostrum, obruerunt; sic ingemuimus, ut infinitus dolor, vix ullam tanti mali levationem invenire posset. — Dux ipse, licet nondum plane vir, tamen & annis ad juventutem pæne adoleverat, & ingenio ad omnes res gerendas ita ematuruerat, ut ex his omnibus nihil illi abesset, quibus illustrem personam vel ornari deceret, vel institui conveniret. Gravis erat sine superbia, comis sine levitate; docilitate summâ, minimo ut studio esset opus, diligentia tamen ejusmodi, quæ naturam posset etiam ex tarditate incitare."

† This young nobleman, of the *Arundel* family, being sent in quality of envoy to the Emperor by Queen *Mary*, having over-heated his blood by the speed he made, fell into a fever, and died the last of *July*, in the nineteenth year of his age, as we learn from the above-mention'd author:

*Quatuor à lustris unum si dempseris annum,
 Hæc Matraversi morientis habebitur ætas;
 Quo post Edwardum majus nil Anglia vidit.*

Queene Eli-
sabeth.

It is your shame, (I speak to you all, you yong gentlemen of *Englande*) that one mayd should go beyond you all in excellencie of learnyng, and knowledge of divers tonges. Pointe forth six of the best given gentlemen of this court, and all they together shew not so much good will, spend not so much tyme, bestow not so many houres dayly, orderly, and constantly, for the increase of learnyng and knowledge, as doth the Queenes Majestie herselfe. Yea I believe, that beside her perfit readines in *Latin*, *Italian*, *French*, and *Spanish*, * she readeth here now at *Windsore* more *Greeke* every day, than some prebendarie of this church doth read *Latin* in a whole weeke. And that which is most praise-worthie of all, within the walls of her privie chamber, she hath obteyned that excellencie of learnyng, to understand, speake, and write both wittely with head, and faire with hand, as scarce one or two rare wittes in both the universities have in many yeares reached unto. Amongest all the benefites that God hath blessed me withall, next the knowledge of Christes true religion, I counte this the greatest, that it pleased God to call me to be one poore minister in setting forward these excellent giftes of learnyng in this most excellent prince; whose only example if the rest of our nobilitie would follow, then might *Englande* be, for learnyng and wisedome in nobilitie, a spectacle to all the world beside. But see the mishap of men; the best examples have never such force to move to any goodnes, as the bad, vaine, light and fond, have to all illnes.

Ill examples
have more
force than
good exam-
ples.

And one example, though out of the compas of learnyng, yet not out of the order of good maners, was notable in this court not fullie twentie foure yeares ago; when all the actes of parliament, many good proclamations, diverse strait commandementes, sore punishments openlie, special regarde privatelie, could not do so moch to take away one misorder, as

* Mr. *Ascham*, in his Discourse of the affairs of *Germany*, speaking of *John Frederick Duke of Saxony*, *Luther's* great friend and defender, hath this passage not unlike what he here relates of his royal mistress.

"It is marvellous, that my friend *Joannes Sturmius* doth report by writing, what he heard *Philip Melancthon* at a time say of this noble Duke, that he thought the Duke did privately read and write more every day, than did both he and Dr. *Aurifaber*; which two were counted in all mens judgments to be the greatest readers and writers in all the univerfity of *Wittemberg*."

This I the rather add, because I have heard this place censured; as if Mr. *Ascham* had failed in point of civility and good maners, and intended a reflection by the comparison.

the

the example of one big one of this courte did, still to keep up the same : the memory whereof doth yet remaine in a common proverb of *Birching Lane*.

Take hede therefore, ye great ones in the court, yea though ye be the greatest of all, take hede what ye do ; take hede how ye live : for as you great ones use to do, so all meane men love to do. You be indeed makers, or marrers, of all mens maners within the realme. For though God hath placed you to be chief in making of lawes, to beare greatest authoritie, to command all others ; yet God doth order, that all your lawes, all your authoritie, all your commandementes, do not halfe so moch with meane men, as doth your example and maner of livinge. And for example, even in the greatest matter, if you yourselves do serve God gladlie and orderlie for conscience sake, not coldlie, and somtyme for maner sake, you carie all the court with you, and the whole realme beside, earnestlie and orderlie to do the same. If you do otherwise, you be the onlie authors of all misorders in religion, not onlie to the courte, but to all *Englande* beside. Infinite shall be made cold in religion by your example, that never were hurt by reading of books.

Great men
in court by
their exam-
ple make or
marre all o-
ther mens
maners.

Example in
religion.

And in meaner matters, if three or foure great ones in courte will nedes outrage in apparell, in huge hose, in monstrous hattes, in gaurishe colours ; let the prince proclame, make lawes, order, punishe, commaunde everie gate in *London* daillie to be watched ; let all good men beside do everie where what they can ; surelie the misorder of apparell in mean men abroad shall never be amended, except the greatest in courte will order and mend themselves first. I know some greates and good ones in courte were authors, that honest citizens of *London* should watch at everie gate to take misordered persones in apparell : I know that honest *Londoners* did so ; and I sawe (which I sawe then, and reporte now with some grieve) that some courtelie men were offended with these good men of *London* : and that which greved me most of all, I sawe the verie same tyme, for all these good orders commaunded from the courte, and executed in *London* ; I sawe, I say, come out of *London*, even unto the presence of the prince, a great rable of mean and light persones, in apparell, for matter against lawe, for making against order,

Example in
apparell.

Masters, ush-
ers and scho-
lers of fence.

for facion, namelie hofe, fo without all order, as he thought himfelfe moft brave, that durft do moft in breaking order, and was moft monfterous in miforder. And for all the great commandementes that came out of the courte, yet this bold miforder was winked at, and borne withall in the courte. I thought it was not well, that fome great ones of the court durft declare themfelves offended with good men of *London*, for doing their dewtie; and the good ones of the courte would not fhew themfelves offended with ill men of *London*, for breaking good order. I found thereby a fayinge of *Socrates* to be moft trewe, “that ill men be more haftie, than good men be forward, to profecute their purpofes;” even as Chrift himfelfe faith of *the children of light and darknefs*.

Befide apparell, in all other thinges too, not fo moch good lawes and ftrait commandementes, as the example and maner of living of great men, doth carrie all meane men everie where to like, and love, and do, as they do. For if but two or three noble men in the court wold
 Example in but beginne to fhoot, all young jentlemen, the whole court, all *London*
 fhooting. *don*, the whole realme, wold ftraightwaie exercife fhooting.

What praife fhould they wyne to themfelves, what commoditie fhould they bring to their contrie, that would thus deferve to be pointed at; “* Behold there goeth the author of good order, the guide of good men?” I could fay more, and yet not over moch. But perchance fome will fay, I have ftepte to farre out of my fcholl into the common welthe; from teaching a yong fcholler, to monifhe great and noble

* Men of true worth and excellency, as they juftly challenge all due refpect, fo they draw the eyes of the world after them, wherever they go. *Demosthenes* never appeared in publick, but he was marked out by the admiring multitude, as he paffed along, one crying to another, Οὗτος ἐκεῖνος. To this *Lucian* alludes in his *Dream*. Τοιαῦτά σοι περιθήσω τὰ γνωρίσματα, ὥστε τῶν ὁρώτων ἕκαστος τὸν πλησίον, κινήσας, δείξει σε τῷ δακτύλῳ, Οὗτος ἐκεῖνος, λέγων. This *Horace* exprefles with fome fatisfaction, as being his own cafe:

*Totum muneri hoc tui est,
 Quod monstror digito prætereuntium,
 Romanæ fidicen lyæ.*

So *Pliny*, in his letter to *Maximus*: “An si Demosthenes jure lætatus est, quod illum anus Attica ita demonstravit, Οὗτος ἐστὶ Δημοσθένης, ego celebritate nominis mei gaudere non debeo?”

men.:

men: yet I trust good and wise men will thinke and judge of me, that my minde was not so much to be busie and bold with them, that be great now, as to give trewe advice to them, that may be great hereafter; who if they do, as I wishe them to do, how great soever they be now by blood, and other mens meanes, they shall become a great deale greater hereafter, by learninge, vertue, and their owne desertes; "which is trewe praise, right worthiness, and verie nobilitie indeede." Yet if some will needes presse me, that I am to bold with great men, and stray to farre from my matter, I will answere them with St. Paul, *Sive per contentionem, sive quocunque modo, modo Christus prædicetur, &c.* Ad Philip. Even so, whether in place, or out of place, with my matter, or beside my matter, if I can hereby either provoke the good, or staye the ill, I shall think my writing herein well employed.

But to come downe from greate men, and hier matters, to my little children, and poore schole-house againe; I will, God willing, go forward orderlie, as I purposed, to instructe children, and yong men, both for learnyng and maners.

Hitherto I have shewed, what harme over moch feare bringeth to children; and what hurte ill companie, and over moch libertie, breedeth in youthe; meaning thereby, that from seven yeare olde to seventene, love is the best alluremeent to learnyng; from seventene to seven and twentie, that wise men shold carefullie see the steppes of youthe surelie staide by good order, in that most slipperie tyme; and speciallie in the courte, a place most dangerous for youthe to live in, without great grace, good regarde, and diligent looking to.

Syr Richard Sackville, that worthie gentleman of worthie memorie, as I sayd in the begynnyng, in the queenes privie chamber at *Windsore*, after he had talked with me for the right choice of a good witte in a childe for learnyng, and of the trewe difference betwixt quicke and hard wittes; of alluring yong children by jentlenes to love learnyng, and of the speciall care that was to be had, to keepe yong men from licentious livyng; he was most earnest with me, to have me say my mynde also, what I thought concernyng the fanfie that many yong gentlemen of *Englande* have to travell abroad, and namely to lead a long life in *Italie*.

Traveling
into Italie.

Italie. His request, both for his authoritie, and good will toward me, was a sufficient commaundement unto me, to satisfie his pleasure with utteryng plainlie my opinion in that matter. "Syr, quoth I, I take
" goyng thither, and living there, for a yonge gentleman, that doth
" not goe under the kepe and garde of such a man, as both by wise-
" dome can, and authoritie dare rewle him, to be marvelous danger-
" ous."

The Italian
tonge.

Italia.

Roma.

And why I said so then, I will declare at large now, which I said then privatelie, and write now openlie; not because I do contemne either the knowledge of strange and diverse tonges, and namelie the *Italian* tonge, (which next the *Greek* and *Latin* tonge, I like and love above all other) or else because I do despise the learnyng that is gotten, or the experience that is gathered in strange countries; or for any private malice that I beare to *Italie*; which contrie, and in it, namelie *Rome*, I have alwayes speciallie honored: because tyme was, when *Italie* and *Rome* have bene to the greate good of us that now live, the best breeders and bringers up of the worthiest men, not onlie for wise speakinge, but also for well doing, in all civill affaires, that ever was in the worlde. But now that tyme is gone, and though the place remaine, yet the olde and present maners do differ as farre, as blacke and white, as virtue and vice.

Virtue once made that cuntry mistresse over all the world; vice now maketh that contrie slave to them, that before were glad to serve it. All men see it; they themselves confesse it, namelie soch as be best and wisest amongest them. For sinne, by lust and vanitie, hath, and doth breed up every where, common contempt of Gods word, private contention in many families, open factions in every citie; and so making themselves bonde to vanitie and vice at home, they are content to beare the yoke of serving strangers abroad. *Italie* now, is not that *Italie*, that it was wont to be; and therefore now not so fitte a place as some do counte it, for yong men to fetch either wisedome or honestie from thence. For surelie they will make others but bad scholers, that be so ill masters to themselves. Yet, if a gentleman will nedes travel into *Italie*, he shall do well to looke to the life of the wisest traveler that ever traveled thither, set out by the wisest writer that ever spake

spake with tonge, Gods doctrine onelie excepted; and that is *Ulysses* in *Homere*. Ulysses.
Homere.

Ulysses, and his travel, I wishe our travellers to looke upon; not so much to feare them with the great daungers that he many times suffered, as to instruct them with his excellent wisedome, which he alwayes, and every where used. Yea even those that be learned and wittie travellers, when they be disposed to praise traveling, as a great commendation, and the best scripture they have for it, they gladlie recite the * third verse of *Odysse. α. Homere*, in his first booke of *Odysssea*, conteyning a great praise of *Ulysses*, for the witte he gathered, and wisedome he used, in his traveling.

Which verse, because, in mine opinion, it was not made at the first more naturally in *Greke* by *Homere*, nor after turned more aptlie into *Latin* by *Horace*, than it was a good while ago, in *Cambridge*, translated into *English*, both plainlie for the sence, and roundlie for the verse, † by one of the best scholers that ever *St. John's* college bred, *M. Watson*, Mr. Thomas Watson. myne old friend, sometime bishop of *Lincolne*; therefore, for their sake that have lust to see how our *English* tonge, in avoidyng barbarous rhyming, may as well receive right quantitie of fillables, and trewe order of versifying, (of which matter more at large hereafter) as either *Greke* or *Latin*, if a cunning man have it in handling; I will set forth that one verse in all three tonges, for an example to good wittes that shall delite in like learned exercise.

Πολλῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων ἶδεν ἄστεα, καὶ νόον ἔγνων. Homer.

Qui mores hominum multorum vidit, & urbes. Horace.

*All travellers do gladly report great prayse of Ulysses,
For that he knew many mens maners, and saw many cities.* Mr. Watson.

* The three first verses of *Homer's Odyss.*

Ἀνδρά μοι ἔννεπε Μῦσα πολύτροπον, ὃς μάλα πολλὰ
Πλάγχθη, ἐπεὶ Τροίης ἱερὸν πηλοῖέθρον ἔπερσε.
Πολλῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων ἶδεν ἄστεα, καὶ νόον ἔγνων.

† This learned gentleman has left nothing behind him, that I know of, but a copy of *Latin* verses, to recommend *Mr Seton's* logick to the publick; as *Mr. Cheke* wrote excellently well in *Greek* upon the same subject.

And

Ulyss. And yet is not *Ulysses* commended so much, nor so oft in *Homere*, be-
 Πολύτροπος. cause he was Πολύτροπος, that is, "skilfull in many mens maners and
 Ulyss. facions;" as because he was Πολύμητις, that is, "wise in all purposes,
 Πολύμητις. "and ware in all places." Which wisdome and warenes will not serve
 Pallas from never a traveller, except *Pallas* be alwayes at his elbow; that is Gods
 Heaven. special grace from Heaven, to kepe him in Gods feare in all his do-
 Alcynous. of *Englande*, light upon a jentle *Alcynous*, and walke in his fair gar-
 Od. η. dens, full of all harmeles pleasures; but he shall sometymes fall either
 Cyclops. into the handes of some cruell *Cyclops*, or into the lappe of some wan-
 Od. ι. ton and dallying dame, *Calypso*; and so suffer the danger of many a dead-
 Calypso. lie denne, not so full of perils to destroy the body, as full of vayne
 Od. ι. pleasures to poyson the minde. Some *Siren* shall sing him a song,
 Sirenes. sweete in tune, but sownding in the ende to his utter destruction. If
 Od. μ. *Scylla* drowne him not, *Charybdis* may fortune to swalow him. Some
 Scylla. Od. μ. *Circe* shall make him, of a plaine *Englishman*, a right *Italian*: and at
 Charybdis. Od. μ. length to Hell, or some hellish place, is he likelie to go; from whence
 Circe. Od. κ. is hard returning, although one *Ulysses*, and that by *Pallas* ayde, and
 Od. λ. good counsell of *Tiresias*, once escaped that horrible den of deadly dark-
 nes.

Therefore, if wise men will nedes send their sonnes into *Italie*, let
 them do it wiselie, under the kepe and garde of him, who, by his
 wisdome and honestie, by his example and authoritie, may be hable
 to kepe them safe and found in the feare of God, in Christes trewe re-
 ligion, in good order, and honestie of livyng; except they will have
 them run headlong into over many jeopardies, as *Ulysses* had done ma-
 Od. μ. ny tymes, if *Pallas* had not alwaies governed him; if he had not used
 Od. κ. to stop his eares with wax, to bind himselfe to the mast of his shyp,
 Moly Herba. to feed dayly upon that sweet herb *Moly**, with the black roote and
 white flowere given unto hym by *Mercurie*, to avoide all the enchant-
 mentes of *Circe*. Wherby the divine poete *Homere* ment covertlie (as wise

* Odyss. K. ver. 304.

Ῥίζη μὲν μέλαν ἔσκε, γάλακτι δὲ εἴκελον ἄνθος.
 Μῶλυ δὲ μιν καλέεσι θεοί. χαλεπὸν δὲ τ' ὀρύσσειν
 Ἄνδράσι γὰρ θνητοῖσι. θεοὶ δὲ τε πάντα δύνανται.

and godlie men do judge) that love of honestie, and hatred of ill, which *David* more plainly doth call "the fear of God," the onely remedie against all inchantmentes of sinne. Pf. xxxiii.

I know diverse noble personages, and many worthie gentlemen of *Englande*, whome all the *Siren* songes of *Italie* could never untwine from the maste of Gods word; nor no inchantment of vanitie overturn them from the feare of God, and love of honestie.

But I know as many, or mo, and some, sometye my deare frendes, (for whose sake I hate going into that contrey the more) who parting out of *Englande* fervent in the love of Christes doctrine, and well furnished with the feare of God, returned out of *Italie* worse transformed than ever was any in *Circes* court. I know diverse, that went out of *Englande* men of innocent life, men of excellent learnyng, who returned out of *Italie*, not only with worse maners, but also with lesse learnyng; neither so willing to live orderlie, nor yet so hable to speake learnedlie, as they were at home, before they went abroad. And why? *Plato*, that wise writer, and worthy traveler himselfe, telleth the cause why he went into *Sicilia*; a countrey no nigher *Italy* by site of place, than *Italie*, that is now, is like *Sicilia*, that was then, in all corrupt maners and licentiousnes of life. *Plato* found in *Sicilia*, every citie full of vanitie, full of factions, even as *Italie* is now. And as *Homere*, like a learned poete, doth fayne that *Circe*, by pleasant inchantmentes, did turne men into beasts, some into swine, some into asses, some into foxes, some into wolves, &c. even so * *Plato*, like a wise philosopher, Plat. ad Dionysium, epist. 3. doth plainly declare, that pleasure by licentious vanitie, that sweete and perilous

* *Plato* seems to insist upon a nicety, in the beginning of this letter to *Dionysius*. 'Twas usual to greet their friends in this form, *Χαίρειν καὶ εὖ πράττειν*; that is, wish'em joy, and true felicity, founded upon good conduct. *Plato*, though he observes that *Dionysius* had chose the former, to carefs and compliment the *Delphian* god, bespeaking him in this verse,

Χαῖρε, καὶ ἠδόμενον βίον διδωζε Τυράννε.

yet he himself approves only of the latter; which he constantly used to his friends, and that, for these reasons, whereunto our author alludes:

K k

Εγώ

THE WORKS OF

perilous poyson of all youth, doth ingender in all those that yield up themselves to her, foure notorious properties:

The fruites
of vayne
pleasure.

- { 1, Λήθην.
- { 2, Δυσμαθίαν.
- { 3, Ἀφροσύνην.
- { 4, Ὕβριν.

Causes why
men returne
out of Italie
lesse learned
and worse
manered.

The first, forgetfulness of all good thinges learned before; the second, dulnes to receyve either learnyng or honestie ever after; the third, a mynde embracing lightlie the worse opinion, and baren of discretion to make trewe difference betwixt good and ill, betwixt troth and vanitie; the fourth, a proude disdainfulness of other good men in all honest matters.

Homere and
Plato joyn-
ed, and ex-
pounded.

A swyne.
An asse.
A foxe.

Ἀφροσύνη,
quid & unde.

Ὕβρις.

Homere and *Plato* have both one meanyng, look both to one end. For if a man inglutte himselfe with vanitie, or walter in filthines like a swyne, all learnyng, all goodness, is sone forgotten. Then quicklie shall he become a dull asse, to understand either learnyng or honestie; and yet shall he be as subtle as a foxe, in breeding of mischief, in bringing in disorder with a busie head, a discoursing tonge, and a factious harte, in every private affaie, in all matters of state; with this prettie propertie, alwayes glad to commend the worse partie, and ever ready to defend the falser opinion. And why? For where will is given from goodnes to vanitie, the mynde is sone caryed from right judgement to any fond opinion in religion, in philosophy, or any other kynde of learnyng. The fourth fruite of vaine pleasure, by *Homere* and *Platos* judgement, is pride in themselves, contempt of others, the very badge of all those that serve in *Circes* court. The trewe meanyng of both *Homere* and *Plato*, is plainlie declared in one short sentence of the holy prophet of God *Hieremie*, crying out of the vaine and vicious life

Ἐγὼ δὲ εἶδὼς ἀνθρώπων κλήσει, μὴ ὅτι δὴ θεῶν, παρακελευσαίμην αὖν δρᾶν τῦτο. Θεῶν μὲν, ὅτι παρὰ φύσιν προσάττοιμ' αὖν (πόρρω γὰρ ἡδονῆς ἰδρυταὶ καὶ λύπης τὸ θεῶν) ἀνθρώπων δὲ, ὅτι τὰ πολλὰ βλάβην ἡδονῇ καὶ λύπην γεννᾷ, δυσμαθίαν, καὶ λήθην, καὶ ἀφροσύνην, καὶ ὕβριν κίλυσσα ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ.

of

of the *Israelites*: "This people (sayth he) be fooles and dulhedes to Hieremias, "all goodnes, but sotle, cunning, and bolde in any mischiefe," &c. cap. iv. ver. 22.

The trewe medicine against the inchantmentes of *Circe*, the vanitie of licentious pleasure, the inticementes of all sinne, is in *Homere* the herbe *Moly*, with the blacke roote, and white flowere, sower at the first, but sweete in the end; which *Hesiodus* termeth * the study of vertue, *Hesiodus de virtute*. hard and irksome in the beginning, but in the end easie and pleasant. And that which is most to be marveled at, the divine poete *Homere* *Homerus, di-vinus poeta*. sayth plainlie, that this medicine against sinne and vanitie, is not found out by man, but given and taught by God. And for some ones sake, that will have delite to read that sweet and godlie verse, I will recite the very wordes of *Homere*, and also turne them into rude *Englishe* metre:

————— Καλεπὸν δὲ τ' ὀρύσσειν
Ἀνδράσι γὰρ θνητοῖσι. Θεοὶ δὲ τε πάντα δύνανται. Ὀδ. κ.

In *Englishe* thus;

*No mortall man, with sweat of browe, or toile of minde,
But onely God, who can do all, that herbe doth finde.*

Plato also, that divine philosopher, hath many godly medicines against the poyson of vayne pleasure, in many places, but specially in his epistle to *Dionysius*, the tyrant of *Sicilie*. Yet against those that will nedes become beastes with serving of *Circe*, the prophet *David* crieth most loud; *Nolite fieri, sicut equus, & mulus*; and by and by giveth the right medicine, the trewe herbe *Moly*, *In camo & fræno maxillas eorum constringe*: that is to say, "Let Gods grace be the bitte, let Gods feare Plat. ad Dionys. Psal. xxxii. 9.

* The place in *Hesiod*, which he points to, is this, "Εργὼν κ' Ἡμερ. ver. 289.

Τῆς δ' Ἀρετῆς ἰδρῶτα θεοὶ προπάρουθεν ἔθηκον
Ἀθάνατοι. μακρὸς δὲ κ' ὄρθι' οἶμος ἐπ' αὐτὴν,
καὶ τρηχὺς τὸ πρῶτον. ἔπην δ' εἰς ἄκρον ἵκησιν,
Ρηιδίη δὲ ἔπειτα ψάλλει, χαλεπὴ περ ἴσθα.

These verses *Lucian*, in his *Νεκυομαντεία*, calls πάνθημα ἔπη, famous and celebrated verses. So *Aristotle*, Τοὺς παιδείας ἔφη τὰς μὲν ρίζας εἶναι πικράς, γλυκεῖς δὲ τὰς καρπύς. *Laertius*.

“ be the bridle, to stay them from runnyng headlong into vice, and to
 “ turne them into the right way agayne.” *David*, in the second
 Psal. xxxiv. psalme after, giveth the same medicine, but in these plainer wordes,
 14. *Diverte à malo, & fac bonum.*

But I am afraide, that over many of our travelers into *Italie* do not
 eschewe the way to *Circes* court, but go, and ryde, and runne, and
 flie thither; they make great haste to come to her; they make great
 suite to serve her; yea, I could point out some with my finger, that
 never had gone out of *Englande*, but onelie to serve *Circe* in *Italie*. Va-
 nitie and vice, and any licence to ill livyng in *Englande*, was counted
 A trewe pic- stale and rude unto them. And so, being mules and horses before they
 ture of a went, returne very swyne and asses home againe; yet everie where
 knight of verie foxes with subtile and busie heades; and where they may, verie
 Circes court. wolves, with cruel malicious hearts. A marvelous monster, whych,
 for filthiness of living, for dulness to learnyng himselfe, for wiliness in
 dealing with others, for malice in hurting without cause, should carie
 at once, in one bodie, the bellie of a swyne, the head of an asse, the
 braine of a foxe, the wombe of a wolfe. If you thinke we judge
 amisse, and write to fore against you, heare what the *Italian* sayth of
 The Italians judgement of the *Englishman*; what the master reporteth of the scholer, who utter-
 Englishmen brought up in *Italie*. eth plainlie what is taught by him, and what is learned by you, say-
 ing, *Englese Italianato, e un Diabolo incarnato*: that is to say, “ You re-
 “ maine men in shape and facion, but become devils in life and con-
 “ dition.”

This is not the opinion of one, for some private spite, but the judge-
 ment of all in a common proverbe, which riseth of that learnyng,
 and those maners, which you gather in *Italie*; a good schole-house of
 wholesome doctrine, and worthy masters of commendable scholers;
 where the master had rather disface hymselfe for hys teaching, than
 not shame his scholer for his learnyng. A good nature of the master,
 and faire conditions of the scholers! And now chose you, you *Italian*
 The Italian diffameth himselfe, to shame the *English-*
 man. man. *Englishmen*, whether you will be angrie with us, for calling you mon-
 sters, or with the *Italianes*, for callyng you devils; or else with your own
 selves, that take so much paines, and go so farre, to make yourselves
 both. If some do not well understand, what is an *Englishman* Italianat-
 ed,

ed, I will plainlie tell him: "He that by living, and traveling in *Italie*, bringeth home into *Englande*, out of *Italie*, the religion, the learnyng, the pollicie, the experience, the maners of *Italie*." That is to say, for religion, papistrie, or worfe; for learnyng, lesse commonly than they caried out with them; for pollicie, a factious hart, a discourfing head, a mynde to medle in all mens matters; for experience, plentie of new mischieves never known in *Englande* before; for maners, varietie of vanities, and chaunge of filthie lyving.

An Englishman Italianated.

1. The religion, 2. the learnyng, 3. the pollicie, 4. the experience, and, 5. the maners, gotten in *Italie*.

These be the inchantmentes of *Circe*, brought out of *Italie*, to marremens maners in *Englande*; much by example of ill life, but more by precepts of fond bookes, of late translated out of *Italian* into *Englishe*, sold in every shop in *London*; commended by honest titles, the soner to corrupt honest maners; dedicated over boldlie to vertuous and honourable personages, the easilier to beguile simple and innocent wittes. "It is pitie, that those which have authoritie and charge, to allow and disallow bookes to be printed, be no more circumspect herein than they are." Ten sermons at *Paules Crosse* do not so moch good for movyng men to trewe doctrine, as one of those bookes do harme, with inticing men to ill living. Yea, I say farder, those bookes tend not so moch to corrupt honest livyng, as they do to subvert trewe religion. Mo Papistes be made by your mery bookes of *Italie*, than by your earnest bookes of *Louvain*. And bicause our great physicians do winke at the matter, and make no count of this fore, I, though not admitted one of their fellowship, yet havyng bene many yeares a prentice to Gods trewe religion, and trust to continewe a poore journeyman therein all dayes of my life; for the dewtie I owe, and love I beare, both to trewe doctrine, and honest living, though I have no authoritie to amend the fore myselfe, yet I will declare my good will, to discover the fore to others.

Italian bookes translated into *Englishe*.

St. *Paul* saith, "that sects and ill opinions be the workes of the flesh, and fruites of sinne." This is spoken no more trewlie for the doctrine, than sensible for the reason. And why? "For ill doinges breed ill thinkinges; and of corrupted maners, spryng perverted judgements." And how? There be in man two speciall thinges; mans will, mans mynde. Where will inclineth to goodness, the mynde

Epist. ad

Gal. v. 19.

Voluntas respicit bonum.

Mens respicit verum.

is

is bent to troth: where will is carried from goodnes to vanitie, the minde is sone drawn from troth to false opinion. And so, the readiest way to entangle the mynde with false doctrine, is first to intice the will to wanton livyng. Therefore, when the busie and open Papistes abroad, could not, by their contentious bookes, turne men in *Englande* fast enough from troth and right judgement in doctrine, then the subtle and secrete Papistes at home, procured bawdie bookes to be translated out of the *Italian* tonge, whereby over many young willes and wittes allured to wantonnes, do now boldly contemne all severe bookes that founde to honestie and godlines.

La Morte
d'Arthure.

In our forefathers tyme, when papistrie, as a standyng poole, covered and overflowed all *Englande*, fewe bookes were read in our tonge, saving certaine bookes of chevalrie, as they said for pastime and pleasure; which, as some say,* were made in monasteries by idle monks, or wanton chanons. As one for example, † *La Morte d'Arthure*; the whole pleasure of which booke standeth in two speciall poyntes, in open manslaughter, and bold bawdrye: in which booke they be counted the noblest knightes that do kill most men without any quarrell, and commit fowlest adoulteries by sutlest shiftes; as Sir *Launcelote*, with the wife of king *Arthure* his master; Sir *Tristram*, with the wife of king *Marke* his uncle; Sir *Lamerocke*, with the wife of king *Lote*, that was his own aunte. This is good stufte for wise men to laughe at, or honest men to take pleasure at: yet I know, when Gods Bible was banished the court, and *La Morte d'Arthure* received into the princes chamber.

* He hath much the same in his preface to his *Toxophilus*. "In our fathers time, nothinge was read but bookes of fayned chivalrie; wherein a man by reading should be led to none other end, but only to manslaughter and bawdrye. If any man suppose they were good enough to passe the time withall, he is deceived. For surely vain wordes do work no small thinge in vaine, ignorant, and young minds, especially if they be given any thinge thereunto of their own nature. These bookes, as I have heard say, were made the most part in abbeys and monasteries: a very likely and fit fruite of such an idle and blind kind of living." See *Huetius de Origine Fabularum Romanensium*.

† *La Mort d'Arthure*: so the book is intituled, tho' it treats of the birth, life, and acts of the said King *Arthure*, and of his noble knights of the Round Table, and their marvailous conquests and adventures. I find it was reprinted at *London* in 1634.

What

What toyes the dayly readyng of fuch a booke may worke in the will of a yong jenleman, or a yong mayde, that liveth welthelie and iddelie, wise men can judge, and honest men do pitie. And yet ten *La Morte d'Arthures* do not the tenth parte so much harme, as one of these bookes made in *Italie*, and translated in *Englande*. They open, not fond and common wayes to vice, but fuch sutable, cunningg, new, and diverse shiftes, to carry yong willes to vanitie, and yong wittes to mischief, to teach old bawdes new schole poyntes, as the simple head of an *Englishman* is not hable to invent, nor never was heard of in *Englande* before, yea when papistrie overflowed all. Suffer these bookes to be read, and they shall soone displace all bookes of godly learning. "For they, carrying the will to vanitie, and marryng good maners, shall easily corrupt the mynde with ill opinions, and false judgement in doctrine; first, to think ill of all trewe religion, and at last to thinke nothing of God hymselfe: one speciall pointe that is to be learned in *Italie*, and *Italian* bookes." And that which is most to be lamented, and therefore more nedefull to be looked to, there be moe of these ungratious bookes set out in printe within these fewe monethes, than have been sene in *Englande* many score yeares before. And bicause our *Englishmen* made *Italians* cannot hurt but certaine persons, and in certaine places, therefore these *Italian* bookes are made *Englishe*, to bryng mischief enough openly and boldly, to all states, great and meane, yong and old, every where.

And thus you see, how will intised to wantonnes, doth easilie allure the mynde to false opinions; and how corrupt maners in livinge, breede false judgement in doctrine; how sinne and fleshlines bring forth sectes and heresies: and therefore suffer not vaine bookes to breede vanitie in mens willes, if you would have Goddes trothe take roote in mens myndes.

That *Italian*, that first invented the *Italian* proverbe against our *Eng-* The Italian
lishmen Italianated, ment no more their vanitie in livyng, than their proverbe ex-
lewd opinion in religion. For in calling them deviles, he carrieth them pounded.
cleane from God; and yet he carrieth them no farder, than they will-
inglie go themselves; that is, where they may freely say their mindes

to the open contempte of God, and all godliness, both in living and doctrine.

And how? I will expresse how; not by a fable of *Homere*, nor by the philosophie of *Plato*, but by a plaine troth of Goddes worde, sensible uttered by *David* thus: thies men, *abominabiles facti in studiis suis*, thinke verilie and finge gladlie the verse before, *Dixit insipiens in corde suo, non est Deus*: that is to say, they giving themselves up to vanitie, shakinge of the motions of grace, driving from them the feare of God, and running headlong into all sinne, first lustelie contemn God, then scornfullie mocke his worde, and also spitefullie hate and hurte all well willers thereof. “Then they have in more reverence the triumphes
“ of *Petrarche*, than the Genesis of *Moses*; they make more accounte
“ of *Tullies* Offices, than of *St. Pauls* epistles; of a tale in *Becace*, than
“ a storie of the Bible. Then they counte as fables, the holie misteries of christian religion. They make Christ and his Gospell onlie
“ serve civill pollicie.” Then neyther religion cometh amisse to them. In tyme they be promoters of both openlie; in place againe mockers of both privilie, as I wrote once in a rude ryme:

*Now new, now olde, now both, now neither;
To serve the worldes course, they care not with whether.*

For where they dare, in companie where they like, they boldlie laugh to scorne both Protestant and Papist. They care for no Scripture; they make no counte of generall counsels; they contemne the consent of the church; they pass for no doctores; they mock the Pope, they raile on *Luther*; they allow neyther side; they like none, but onelie themselves. The marke they shote at, the ende they looke for, the heaven they desire, is onelie their own present pleasure, and private profite; whereby they plainlie declare of whose schole, of what religion they be; that is, “Epicures in living, and *Atheoi* in doctrine.” This last worde is no more unknowne now to plaine *Englishmen*, than the person was unknowne some tyme in *Englande*, untill some *Englishman* took paines to fetch that devillishe opinion out of *Italie*. Thies men thus Italianated abroad, cannot abide our godlie *Italian* church at home; they be not of

The Italian
church in
London.

that parish; they be not of that fellowship; they like not that preacher; they heare not his sermons, excepte somtymes for companie; they come thither to hear the *Italian* tonge naturally spoken, not to heare Gods doctrine trewly preached.

And yet thies men, in matters of divinitie, openlie pretend a great knowledge, and have privatelie to themselves a very compendious understanding of all; which nevertheless they will utter, when and where they liste: and that is this; All the misteries of *Moses*, the whole lawe and ceremonies, the Psalmes and prophets; Christ and his Gospell, God and the Devil, heaven and hell, faith, conscience, sinne, death, and all, they shortlie wrap up, they quicklie expounde, with this one half verse of *Horace*;

————— *Credat Judæus Apella.*

Lib. i. sat. 5.

Yet though in *Italie* they may freely be of no religion, as they are in *Englande* in verie deede to; nevertheless returning home into *Englande*, they must countenance the profession of the one or the other, howsoever inwardlie they laugh to scorne both. And though, for their private matters, they can follow, fawne, and flatter noble personages, contrarie to them in all respects; yet commonlie they allie themselves with the worst Papistes, to whom they be wedded, and do well agree together in three proper opinions; in open contempte of Goddes worde, in a secret securitie of sinne, and in a bloodie desire to have all taken awaie by sword, or burninge, that be not of their faction. They that do read with an indifferent judgement * *Pighius*, and *Machiavel*, two indifferent patriarches of thies two religions, do know full well that I say trewe.

Papistrie and impiety agree in three opinions.
Pighius.
Machiave
us.

Ye see what manners and doctrine our *Englishmen* fetch out of *Italie*: for finding no other there, they can bring no other hither. And there-

* *Albertus Pighius*, a famous champion for the *Romish* cause, and one of *Luther's* antagonists. "Meminerit Cardinalem Campegium, Albertum Pighium, aliosque complures suos docuisse, sacerdotem illum multò sanctius & castius vivere, qui alat concubinam, quàm qui uxorem habeat in matrimonio." *Jueli Apol.*

Wife and
honest tra-
vellers.

Germanie.

fore manie godlie and excellent learned *Englishmen*, not manie yeares ago, did make a better choice; when open crueltie drave them out of this contrie, to place themselves there, where Christes doctrine, the feare of God, punishment of sinne, and discipline of honestie, were had in special regard.

Venice. I was once in *Italie* myselfe; but I thanke God, my abode there was but nine dayes; and yet I sawe in that litle tyme, in one citie, more
London. libertie to sinne, than ever I heard tell of in our noble citie of *London* in nine yeare.

Service of
God in Eng-
lande.

Service of
God in *Italie*.

The lord
maior of
London.

The inquisi-
tors in *Italie*.

I sawe, it was there as free to sinne, not onelie without all punishment, but also without any mans marking, as it is free in the citie of *London*, to chose without all blame, whether a man lust to weare shoo, or pantocle. And good cause why: for being unlike in troth of religion, they must nedes be unlike in honestie of living. For, blessed be Christ, in our citie of *London*, commonlie the commandementes of God be more diligentlie taught, and the service of God more reverentlie used, and that daylie in many private mens houses, than they be in *Italie* once a weeke in their common churches; where masking ceremonies, to delite the eye, and vaine foundes, to please the eare, do quite thrust out of the churches all service of God in spirit and troth. Yea, the lord maior of *London*, being but a civill officer, is commonlie for his tyme, more diligent in punishing sinne, the bent enemye against God and good order, than all the bloodie inquisitors in *Italie* be in seven yeare. For their care and charge is, not to punish sinne, not to amend manners, not to purge doctrine, but onlie to watch and oversee that Christes trewe religion set no sure footing, where the Pope hath anie jurisdiction.

An ungodlie
pollicie.

I learned, when I was at *Venice*, that there it is counted good pollicie, when there be four or five bretheren of one familie, one onelie to marrie, and all the rest, to waulter, with as little shame, in open lecherie, as swyne do here in the common myre. Yea, there be as fayre houses of religion, as great provision, as diligent officers, to kepe up this misorder, as *Bridewell* is, and all the masters there, to kepe downe misorder.

order. And therefore, * if the Pope himfelfe do not onelie grant pardons to funder thies wicked purpofes abroad in *Italie*, but alfo (although this prefent Pope, in the beginning, made fome fhewe of milking thereof) affigne both meede and merite to the maintenance of ftewes and brothel houfes at home in *Rome*; then let wife men thinke *Italie* a fafe place for holfofome doctrine, and godlie manners, and a fitte fchole for yong gentlemen of *Englande* to be brought up in.

Our *Italians* bring home with them other faultes from *Italie*, though not fo greate as this of religion; yet a great deal greater than many good men can well beare. For commonlie they come home, common contempters of mariage, and readie perfuaders of all others to the fame; Contempt of mariage. not becaufe they love virginitie, nor yet becaufe they hate prettie yong virgines, but being free in *Italie* to go whither fo ever luft will carry them, they do not like, that lawe and honeftie fhould be foch a barre to their libertie at home in *Englande*. And yet they be the greateft makers of love, the daylie dalliers with fuch pleafant wordes, with fuch fmilyng and fecret countenances, with fuch fignes, tokens, wagers, purpofed to be loft, before they were purpofed to be made, with bargains of wearing colours, floures, and herbes, to breede occafion of oft meeting of him and her, and bolder talking of this and that, &c. And although I have feene fome, innocent of all ill, and ftayde in all honeftie, that have ufed thefe things without all harme, without all fufpicion of harme; yet thefe knacks were brought firft into *Englande* by them, that learned them before in *Italie* in *Circes* court; and how courtlie courtesies fo ever they be counted now, yet if the meaning and manners of fome that do ufe them, were fomewhat amended, it were no great hurt, neither to themfelves, nor to others.

Another propertie of thies our *Englifh Italians* is, to be marvelous fingular in all their matters; fingular in knowledge, ignorant of nothing; fo fingular in wifdome (in their owne opinion) as fcarce they count the beft counsellor the prince hath, comparable with them: common dif-

* Nondum ille, fpero, oblitus eft, multa effe Romæ publicarum meretricum millia, & fe ex illis in fingulos annos, vectigalis nomine, colligere ad triginta millia ducatorum. Oblivifci non poteft, fe Romæ Lenocinium publicè exercere, & defædiffima mercede fæde ac nequiter delitiari. *Juelli Apol.*

courfers of all matters, busie searchers of most secret affaires, open flatterers of great men, privie mislikers of good men, faire speakers with smiling countenances, and much courtesie openlie to all men; ready backbiters, fore nippers, and spitefull reporters privilie of good men. And beyng brought up in *Italie* in some free citie, as all cities be there; where a man may freely discourse against what he will, against whom he lust, against any prince, agaynst any government, yea against God himselfe, and his whole religion; where he must be either * *Guelphe* or *Gibiline*; either *French* or *Spanish*; and alwayes compelled to be of some partie, of some faction, he shall never be compelled to be of any religion. And if he meddle not over much with Christes true religion, he shall have free libertie to embrace all religions, and become if he lust, at once, without any let or punishment, *Jewish*, *Turkish*, *Papish*, and *Devillish*.

A yong gentleman, thus bred up in this goodly schole, to learne the next and readie way to sinne, to have a busie head, a factious heart, a talkative tonge, fed with discoursing of factions, led to contemne God and his religion, shall come home into *Englande* but verie ill taught, either to be an honest man hymselfe, a quiet subject to his prince, or willyng to serve God, under the obedience of trewe doctrine, or within the order of honest living.

I know, none will be offended with this my generall writing, but onelie such, as finde themselves guiltie privately therein; who shall have good leave to be offended with me, untill they begin to amende themselves. I touch not them that be good; and I say to litle of them that be naught. And so, though not enough for their deserving, yet sufficientlie for this time, and more els-when, if occasion so require.

And thus farre have I wandered from my first purpose of teaching a child, yet not altogether out of the way, bicause this whole taulke hath tended to the onelie advauncement of trothe in religion, and

* Two factions in *Italy*, which their historians frequently mention. See *Machiavel's* account of their original.

honestie of living; and hath bene whollie within the compasse of learning and good manners, the speciall pointes belonging to the right brynging up of youth.

But to my matter: as I began plainlie and simplie with my yong scholer, so will I not leave him, God willing, untill I have brought him a perfite scholer out of the schole, and placed him in the universitie, to become a fitte student for logicke and rhetoricke; and so after to physicke, law, or divinitie, as aptnes of nature, advise of frendes, and Gods disposition shall lead him.

The Ende of the F I R S T B O O K E.

T H E

THE SECOND BOOKE.

Teachyng the ready Way

To the LATIN TONGE.

AFTER that your scholer, as I sayd before, shall come indeede, first to a readie perfittnes in translating, then to a ripe and skilfull choice in marking out hys fixe pointes ; as,

1. *Proprium.*
2. *Translatum.*
3. *Synonymum.*
4. *Contrarium.*
5. *Diversum.*
6. *Phrases.*

Then take this order with him : Read dayly unto him some booke of *Tullie* ; as the third booke of epistles chosen out by *Sturmius* ; *de Amicitia*, *de Senectute*, or that excellent epistle, containyng almost the whole first booke, *ad Q. Fratrem* ; some comedie of *Terence*, or *Plautus*. But in *Plautus*, skilfull choice must be used by the master, to traine his scholer to a judgment, in cutting out perfitelie over old and unproper wordes. *Cæsars Commentaries* are to be read with all curiositie, wherein specially (without all exception to be made either by friend or foe) is seene the unspotted proprietie of the *Latin* tonge, even when it was, as the *Grecians* say, in ἀκμῇ, that is, at the highest pitch of all perfitenesse ; or some orations of *T. Livius*, such as be both longest and plainest.

Cicero.

Terentius.
Plautus.

Jul. Cæsar.

T. Livius.

These bookes I would have him read now a good deale at every lecture ; for he shall not now use dailie translation, but only construe againe, and parse, where ye suspect is any nede : yet let him not omitte in these bookes his former exercise, in marking diligentlie, and writyng orderlie out his six pointes : and for translating, use you yourselfe, every

second or thyrd day, to chose out some epistle *ad Atticum*; some notable common place out of his orations, or some other part of *Tullie*, by your discretion, which your scholer may not know where to find; and translate it you your selfe, into plaine naturall *Englisb*; and then give it him to translate into *Latin* againe, allowyng him good space and tyme, to do it both with diligent heede, and good advisement.

Here his witte shal be new set on worke; his judgement, for right choice, trewlie tried; his memorie, for sure retheyning, better exercised, than by learnyng any thing without the booke; and here, how much he hath profited, shall plainlie appeare. When he bringeth it translated unto you, bring you forth the place of *Tullie*; lay them together, compare the one with the other; commend his good choice, and right placing of wordes; shew his faultes jently, but blame them not over sharply; for of such missings, jentlie admonished of, proceedeth glad and good heed taking; of good heed taking, springeth chiefly knowledge, which after groweth to perfitnesse, if this order be diligentlie used by the scholer, and jently handled by the master. For here shall all the hard pointes of grammar, both easelie and surelie be learned up; which scholers in common scholes, by making of *Latines*, be groping at, with care and feare, and yet in many yeares they scarce can reach unto them.

I remember, when I was yong, in the North they went to the grammar schole little children; they came from thence great lubbers, alwayes learnyng, and little profiting; learnyng without booke, every thing, understanding within the booke little or nothing. Their whole knowledge, by learnyng without the booke, was tied only to their tonge and lips, and never ascended up to the brain and head; and therefore was sone spitte out of the mouth againe. They were as men alwayes going, but ever out of the way. And why? For their whole labour, or rather great toile without order, was even vaine idlenesse without profit. Indeede they took great paynes about learnyng, but employed small labour in learnyng; when by this way prescribed in this booke, being straight, plaine, and easie, the scholer is alwayes laboring with pleasure, and ever going right on forward with proffit. Alwayes laboring I say; for, or he have construed, parced, twise translated

lated over by good advisement, marked out his fix pointes by skilfull judgement, he shall have necessary occasion, to read over every lecture a dozen tymes at the least. Which because he shall do alwayes in order, he shall do it alwayes with pleasure: "and pleasure allureth love, love hath lust to labor, labor alwayes obtaineth his purpose;" as most trewly both *Aristotle* in his *Rhetorick*, and *Oedipus* * in *Sophocles* do teach, saying, *πᾶν γὰρ ἐκπονούμενον ἀλίσκε, &c.* And this oft reading, is the verie right following of that good counsell, † which *Plinie* doth give to his frende *Fuscus*, saying, *Multum, non multa.* But to my purpose againe.

Rhet. 2.
In Oedip.
Tyr.
Lib. 7. ep. 9:

When by this diligent and spedie reading over those forenamed good bookes of *Tullie*, *Terence*, *Cæsar*, and *Livie*, and by this second kinde of translating out of your *English*, tyme shall breede skill, and use shall bring perfection: then ye may trie, if ye will, your scholer with the third kinde of translation: although the two first wayes, by mine opinion, be not onlie sufficient of themselves, but also surer, both for the masters teaching, and scholers learning, than this third way is; which is thus:

Write you in *English* some letter, as it were from him to his father, or to some other frende, naturallie, according to the disposition of the child; or some tale, or fable, or plane narration, according as *Aphthonius* beginneth his exercises of learning; and let him translate it into *Latin* againe, abiding in such place where no other scholer may prompt him. But yet, use you your selfe such discretion for choice therein, as the matter may be within the compas, both for wordes and sentences, of his former learning and reading. And now take heede, lest your

* What passage he means in *Sophocles*, I know not. The following sentence *Creon* speaks to *Oedipus*, after his return from the oracle:

Τὸ δὲ ζητούμενον
Ἀλωτὸν, ἐκφεύγει δὲ τὰ μέλει μιν.

There is nothing else in that excellent play that has the least relation hereunto.

† The sentence in *Pliny's* epistles here referred to, is this: "Tu memineris, sui cujusque generis auctores diligenter eligere. Aiunt enim, *multum legendum esse, non multa.*"

scholer do not better in some point than you yourselſe, except ye have bene diligentlie exerciſed in theſe kindes of tranſlating before.

I had once a proſe hereof, tried by good experience, by a deare frende of myne, when I came firſt from *Cambrige* to ſerve the queens majeſtie, than ladie *Elizabeth*, lying at worthie Syr *Antony Denys* in *Cheſton*. *John Whitney*, a yong gentleman, was my bed fellowe; who willyng by good nature, and provoked by mine adviſe, began to learn the *Latin* tonge after the order declared in this booke. We began after *Chriſtmas*: I read unto him *Tullie de Amicitia*, which he did every day twiſe tranſlate, out of *Latin* into *Engliſh*, and out of *Engliſh* into *Latin* againe. About *St. Laurence* tide after, to prove how he profitted, I did choſe out *Torquatus* taulke *de Amicitia*, in the later end of the firſt booke *de Finibus*; bicauſe that place was the ſame in matter, like in wordes and phraſes, nigh to the form and facion of ſentences, as he had learned before in *de Amicitia*. I did tranſlate it myſelfe into plaine *Engliſh*, and gave it him to turn into *Latin*; which he did ſo choiſlie, ſo orderlie, ſo without any great miſſe in the hardeſt pointes of grammar, that ſome, in ſeven yeare in grammar ſcholes, yea, and ſome in the univerſities to, cannot do halfe ſo well. This worthie yong gentleman, to my greateſt grief, to the great lamentation of that whole houſe, and ſpeciallie to that noble ladie, now queene *Elizabeth* herſelfe, departed within few days out of this world.

And if in any cauſe, a man may without offence to God ſpeake ſomewhat ungodlie, ſurely it was ſome grief unto me, to ſee him hie ſo haſtelie to God, as he did. A court, full of ſoch yong gentlemen, were rather a *Paradiſe* than a court upon earth. And though I had never poeticall head, to make any verſe in any tonge; yet either love, or ſorow, or both, did wring out of me then, certaine careful thoughtes of my good will towards him; which in my mourning for him, fell forth more by chance, than either by ſkill or uſe, into this kinde of miſorderlie meter.

*Myne own John Whitney, now farewell, now death doth parte us twaine:
No death, but partyng for a while, whom life ſhall joyne agayne.*

Therefore my heart cease fighes and sobbes, cease sorowes seede to sow;
 Whereof no gaine, but greater grief, and hurtfull care may grow.
 Yet when I thinke upon such giftes of grace, as God him lent,
 My losse, his gaine, I must a while, with joyfull teares lament.
 Yong yeares to yelde such frute in court, where seede of vice is sowne,
 Is some time read, in some place seene, amongst us seldome knowne.
 His life he ledde, Christes lore to learne, with will to worke the same;
 He read to know, and knew to live, and liv'd to praise his name.
 So fast a frende, so foe to few, so good to every wight,
 I may well wishe, but scarcelie hope, againe to have in sight.
 The greater joye his life to me, his death the greater payne:
 His life in Christ so surelie set, doth glad my harte againe:
 His life so good, his death better, do mingle mirth with care,
 My spirit with joye, my flesh with grief, so deare a frend to spare.
 Thus God the good, while they be good, doth take, and leave us ill,
 That we should mend our sinfull life, in life to tary still.
 Thus we well left, be better rest, in heaven to take his place,
 That by like life, and death, at last, we may obtaine like grace.
 Myne owne John Whitney, agayne farewell, a while thus parte in twaine;
 Whom payne doth part in earth, in heaven great joye shall joyne agayne.

In this place, or I procede farder, I will now declare, by whose authoritie I am led, and by what reason I am moved, to thinke, that this way of double translation out of one tonge into another, in either one-lie, or at least chiefly to be exercised, speciallie of youth, for the ready and sure obtaining of any tonge.

There be six wayes appointed by the best learned men, for the learning of tonges, and encrease of eloquence; as,

1. *Translatio linguarum.*
2. *Paraphrasis.*
3. *Metaphrasis.*
4. *Epitome.*
5. *Imitatio.*
6. *Declamatio.*

All theis be used, and commended, but in order, and for respectes, as person, habilitie, place, and tyme shall require. The five last be fitter for the master than the scholer; for men, than for children; for the universities, rather than for grammar scholes. Yet never the lesse, which is fittest in mine opinion for our schole, and which is either wholie to be refused, or partlie to be used for our purpose; I will, by good authoritie, and some reason I trust, particularlie of everie one, and largelie enough of them all, declare orderlie unto you.

TRANSLATIO LINGUARUM.

Translation is easie in the beginning for the scholer, and bringeth also moch learning and great judgement to the master. It is most common, and most commendable of all other exercises for youth: most common; for all your constructions in grammar scholes, be nothing els but translations: but because they be not double translations, as I do require, they bring forth but simple and single commoditie; and because also they lacke the daily use of writing, which is the onely thing that breedeth deepe roote, both in the witte, for good understanding, and in the memorie, for sure keeping of all that is learned: most commendable also, and that by the judgement of all authors, which intreate of theis exercises. *Tullie* in the person of *L. Crassus*, (whom he maketh his example of eloquence and trewe judgement in learnyng) doth not onely praise specially, and chose this way of translation for a yong man; but doth also* discommend and refuse his owne former wonte, in exercising *Paraphrasin*, & *Metaphrasin*. *Paraphrasis* is, to take some eloquent oration, or some notable common place in *Latin*, and expresse it with other wordes: *Metaphrasis* is, to take some notable place out of a good poete, and turn the same sence into meter, or into other wordes in prose. *Crassus*, or rather *Tullie*, doth mislike both these wayes; because the author, either orator or poete, had chosen out before the fittest wordes, and aptest composition for that matter; and so he, in seeking other, was driven to use the worse.

De Orat.
lib. 1.

* These are *Crassus's* reasons against this sort of exercise: "Sed post animadverti, hoc esse in hoc vitii, quod ea verba, quæ maxime cujusque rei propria, quæque essent ornatissima atque optima, occupasset aut *Ennius*, si ad ejus versus me exercerem, aut *Gracchus*, si ejus orationem mihi fortè proposuisssem: ita, si iisdem verbis uterer, nihil prodesse; si aliis, etiam obesse, cum minus idoneis uti consuescerem." *De Orat. lib. 1.*

Quintilian also preferreth translation * before all other exercises; yet having a lust to dissent from *Tullie* (as he doth in very many places, if a man read his Rhetoricke over advisedlie; and that rather of an envious minde, than of any just cause) doth greatlie commend *Paraphras*is, † crossing spitefullie *Tullies* judgement in refusing the same: and so do *Ramus* and *Talæus* even at this day in *France* to. But such singularity in dissenting from the best mens judgements, in liking onelie their owne opinions, is moch misliked of all them, that joyne with learnyng, discretion and wisdom. For he, that can neither like *Aristotle* in logicke and philosophie, nor *Tullie* in rhetoricke and eloquence, will, from these steppes, likelie enough, presume by like pride, to mount hier, to the misliking of greater matters; that is, either in religion, to have a dissentious head, or in the common wealth, to have a factious hart: as I knew one, a student in *Cambrige*, who, for a singularity, began first to dissent in the scholes from *Aristotle*, and sone after became a perverse *Arian*, against Christ and all trewe religion; and studied diligentlie *Origene*, *Basilus*, and *S. Hierome*, onelie to gleane out of their workes, the pernicious heresies of *Celsus*, *Eunomius*, and *Helvidius*, whereby the church of Christ was so poysoned withall.

Quintil. de
 Instit. Orat.
 lib. x.

But to leave these hye pointes of divinitie: surelie in this quiete and harmles controversie, for the liking or misliking of *Paraphras*is for a yong scholer; even as far as *Tullie* goeth beyond *Quintilian*, *Ramus*, and *Talæus*, in perfect eloquence, even so moch, by mine opinion, come they beyonde *Tullie*, for trewe judgement in teaching the same.

Plinius Secundus, a wise senator of great experience, excellentlie learned himselfe, † a liberall patrone of learned men, and the purest writer,

* *Quintilian* does not seem heartily to recommend this way of translating out of *Greek* into *Latin*; but rather gives us the opinion and judgment of the old orators about it, adding, that it was much practised by *Crassus*, *Cicero*, and *Messala*. His words are, "Vertere Græca in Latinum veteres nostri oratores optimum judicabant."

† "Sed & illa ex Latinis conversio, multum & ipsa contulerit. — — — Ideoque ab illis dissentio, qui vertere orationes Latinas vetant, quia optimis occupatis, quicquid aliter dixerimus, necesse sit esse deterius. Nam neque semper est desperandum, aliquid illis, quæ dicta sunt, melius posse reperiri; neque adeo jejunam ac pauperem naturam eloquentiam fecit, ut una de re bene dici, nisi semel non possit." *De Instit. Orat. lib. 10.*

† He writes thus to *Quintilian*, being about to marry his daughter to *Nonius Celer*: "Partem oneris tui mihi vindico, et tanquam parens alter puellæ nostræ, conféro quinquaginta millia

Plinius Secundus dedit
Quintiliano
præceptori
suo, in ma-
trimonium
filiae, 50000
nummos.
Epist. lib. 6.
ep. 311.

writer, in myne opinion, of all his age † (I except not *Suetonius*, his two scholemasters *Quintilian* and *Tacitus*, nor yet his most excellent learned uncle, the elder *Plinius*) doth expresse in an epistle to his frende *Fuscus*, many good wayes for order in studie; but he beginneth with translation, and preferreth it to all the rest. And bicause * his wordes be not able, I will recite them.

Utile in primis, ut multi præcipiunt, ex Græco in Latinum, & ex Latino vertere in Græcum: quo genere exercitationis, proprietas splendorque verborum, apta structura sententiarum, figurarum copia & explicandi vis colligitur. Præterea, imitatione optimorum, facultas similia inveniendi paratur: & quæ legentem, fefellissent, transferentem fugere non possunt. Intelligentia ex hoc, & iudicium acquiritur.

Ye perceive how *Plinie* teacheth, that by this exercise of double translating, is learned easely, sensiblie, by little and little, not onelie all the hard congruities of grammar, the choice of aptest wordes, the right framing of wordes and sentences, comelines of figures, and formes fitte for everie matter, and proper for everie tonge: but that which is greater also, in marking dayly, and folowing diligentlie thus the steppes

“ millia nummum; plus collaturus, nisi à verecundia tuâ sola mediocritate munusculi, impetrari posse considerem, ne recusares.” *Epist. lib. 6.*

† Many have condemned the whole age wherein *Pliny* wrote. “ Optaret alius, ut oratorem Plinium saperem, quod hujus et maturitas et disciplina laudatur. Ego contra totum illud aspernari me dicam Plinii seculum.” *Angelus Politianus, epist. 1.*

* There is so great a difference in this citation out of *Pliny* from the printed copies, that I'm satisfied Mr. *Afcham* (as I have observ'd before) trusted to his memory only, without ever looking into his author. This will appear plain enough to any one, that shall compare this passage, as it stands here, with *Pliny's* text, which I shall give the reader out of *Boxhornius's* edition, printed by *Elzevir*.

“ Utile imprimis, & multi præcipiunt, vel ex Græco in Latinum, vel ex Latino vertere in Græcum: quo genere exercitationis proprietas splendorque verborum, copia figurarum, vis explicandi; præterea imitatione optimorum similia inveniendi facultas paratur: simul quæ legentem fefellissent, transferentem fugere non possunt. Intelligentia ex hoc & iudicium acquiritur.” *Lib. 7.*

Now lest any shou'd wonder at this strange inaccuracy (for so it seems to be) in a person of Mr. *Afcham's* learning and judgment; I shall transcribe what *Casaubon*, in his notes on *Theocritus*, has remark'd on the like occasion. “ Veterum grammaticorum mos est in proferendis auctorum locis, id unicum, cujus gratia eos laudant, spectare, neglecta interim sententia. Ex eo est, quod multa sæpè apud eos aliter scripta inveniuntur, quàm in ipsis auctoribus habentur.”

of

of the best authors, like invention of argumentes, like order in disposition, like utterance in elocution, is easilie gathered up; whereby your scholer shall be brought not onlie to like eloquence, but also, to all trewe understanding, and right judgement, both for writing and speaking.

And where *Dionysius Halicarnassæus* hath written two excellent bookes, the * one *de Delectu optimorum Verborum*, (the which, I feare, is lost) the other, of the right framing of wordes and sentences, which doth remaine yet in *Greeke*, to the great profit of all them that trewlie studie for eloquence: yet this waie of double translating, shall bring the whole proffet of both these bookes to a diligent scholer, and that easilie and pleasantlie, both for fitte choice of wordes, and apt composition of sentences.

And by theis authorities and reasons, am I moved to thinke this waie of double translating, either onelie, or chieflie, to be fittest for the speedy and perfit attayning of any tonge. And for speedy atteyning, I durst venture a good wager, if a scholer, in whom is aptnes, love, diligence, and constancie, would but translate, after this sorte, one little booke in *Tullie*, (as *de Senectute*, with two epistles, the first *ad Q. fratrem*, the other *ad Lentulum*, the last save one in the first booke) that scholer, I say, should come to a better knowledge in the *Latin* tonge, than the most part do, that spend foure or five yeares in tossing all the rules of grammar in common scholes. Indeede this one booke, with these two epistles, is not sufficient to affourde all *Latin* wordes, (which is not necessary for a young scholer to know) but it is able to furnishe him fully, for all pointes of grammar, with the right placing, ordering, and use of wordes, in all kinde of matter. And why not? For it is read, that *Dion Prææssus*, that wise philosopher, and excellent ora-

* *Dionysius*, in the beginning of his excellent treatise *περὶ Συνθέσεως ὀνομάτων*, acquaints young *Rufus Melitius*, he designed him another present the year following, on his next ensuing birth-day; which should be a treatise, concerning the right choice of words. But whether he ever performed what he there promises, is uncertain. *Ἐὰν δὲ ἐγγένηταί μοι σχολή, καὶ περὶ τῆς ἑκλογῆς τῶν ὀνομάτων ἑτέραν ἐξόισω σοι γραφὴν, ἵνα τὸν λεκτικὸν τόπον τελείως ἐξεργασμένον ἔχῃς. ἐκείνην μὲν ὅν τὴν πραγμασίαν εἰς νέωλα πάλιν ὥραιοι ταῖς αὐταῖς ὑποσώξω.*

THE WORKS OF

four * of all his tyme, did come to the great learning and utterance that was in him, by reading and following onlie two bookes, *Phædon Platonis*, and *Demosthenes* most notable oration, *περὶ Παράπρεσβείας*.

And a better and nearer example herein may be, our most noble queen *Elizabeth*, who never toke yet *Greeke* nor *Latin* grammar in her hand, after the first declining of a nowne and a verbe; but only by this double translating of *Demosthenes* and *Isocrates* dailie, without missing every forenone, and likewise some part of *Tullie* every afternone, for the space of a yeare or two, hath atteyned to soch a perfit understanding in both the tonges, and to such a readie utterance of the *Latin*, and that with such a judgement, † as they be fewe in number in both the universities, or els where in *Englande*, that be, in both tonges, comparable with her majestie. And to conclude in a short rowme the commodities of double translation; surelie the minde by dailie marking, first, the cause and matter; then the wordes and phraes; next, the order and composition; after, the reason and argumentes; then the formes and figures of both the tonges; lastlie, the measure and compass of everie sentence, must needes, by little and little, draw unto it the like shape of eloquence, as the author doth use, which is read. And thus much for double translation.

PARAPHRASIS.

Paraphrasis, the second point, is not onelie ‡ to expresse at large with more wordes, but to strive and contend (as *Quintilian* sayth) to translate the best *Latin* authors into other *Latin* wordes, as many, or thereabout.

This waie of exercise || was used first by *C. Carbo*, and taken up for a while by *L. Crassus*, but sone after, upon due profe thereof, rejected justlie

* He lived in *Trajan's* time, and in great favour and esteem with the Emperor.

† See the character Sir *Henry Savil* gives of this incomparable queen, in his oration printed at the end of this book.

‡ “Neque ego *Παράφρασιν* esse interpretationem tantum volo, sed circa eodem sensus certamen atque æmulationem.” *Quintil.*

|| “In quotidianis autem cogitationibus equidem mihi adolescentulus proponere solebam illam exercitationem maximè, qua *C. Carbonem* nostrum illum inimicum solitum esse uti sciebam,

justlie by *Crassus* and *Cicero*; yet allowed, and made sterling agayne, by *M. Quintilian*: nevertheless shortlie after, by better assaye, disallowed of his owne scholer, *Plinius Secundus*, who termeth it rightlie thus, * *audax contentio*. It is a bold comparison indeede, to think to say better, than that is best. Such turning of the best into worse, is much like the turning of good wine, out of a faire sweete flagon of silver, into a foule mustie bottle of ledder; or to turne pure gold and silver into foule brasse and copper.

Soch kinde of *Paraphrasis*, in turning, chopping, and changing the best to worse, either in the mynte or scholes, (though *M. Brokke* and *Quintilian* both say the contrary) is moch misliked of the best and wisest men. I can better allow an other kinde of *Paraphrasis*, to turne rude and barbarous, into proper and eloquent: which nevertheless is an exercise not fitte for a scholer, but for a perfite master; who in plentie hath good choice, in copie hath right judgement, and grounded skill; as did appeare to be in *Sebastian Castalio*, in translating *Kemppes* booke *de Imitando Christo*.

But to follow *Quintilianus* advise for *Paraphrasis*, were even to take paine, to seeke the worse and fowler way, when the plaine and fairer is occupied before your eyes.

The olde and best authors that ever wrote, were content if occasion required to speake twise of one matter, not to change the wordes, but ῥητῶς, that is, worde for worde to expresse it againe. For they thought that a matter, well expressed with fitte wordes and apt composition, was not to be altered, but liking it well their selves, they thought it would also be well allowed of others.

“ sciebam, ut aut versibus propositis quàm maximè gravibus, aut oratione aliqua lecta ad eum
“ finem, quem memoria possem comprehendere, eam rem ipsam, quam legissem, verbis aliis
“ quàm maximè possem lectis pronunciarem.” *Cic. de Orat. lib. 1.*

* “ Licebit interdum & notissima eligere, & certare cum electis. Audax hæc, non tamen improba, quia secreta, contentio; quanquam multos videmus ejusmodi certamina sibi
“ cum multa laude sumpsisse, quosque subsequi satis habebant, dum non desperant, antecessisse.” *Pliny, in the same epistle.*

A scholemaster, soch a one as I require, knoweth that I say trewe.
 Homer. Ili- He readeth in *Homer*, almost in everie booke, and speciallie in *secundo*,
 ad. 2. & 9. & *nono Iliados*, not onlie some verses, but whole leaves, not to be alter-
 ed with new, but to be uttered with the old selfe same wordes. He
 Xenophon. knoweth that *Xenophon*, writing twise of *Agésilais*, once in his life,
 againe in the historie of the *Greekes*, in one matter, kepeth alwayes
 the selfe same wordes. He doth the like, speaking of *Socrates*, both in
 the beginning of his apologie, and in the last ende of *Ἀπομνημονευμάτων*.

Demosthe- *Demosthenes* also, in the fourth *Philippica*, doth borow his owne
 nes. wordes, uttered before in his oration *de Chersoneso*. He doth the like,
 and that more at large, in his orations against *Andrathon*, and *Timo-*
crates.

Cicero. In *Latin* also, *Cicero* in some places, and *Virgil* in mo, do repeate
 Virgil. one matter with the selfe same wordes. Thies excellent authors did
 thus, not for lacke of wordes, but by judgement and skill, whatso-
 ever others, more curious, and lesse skilfull, do thinke, write, and do.

Paraphrasis neverthelesse hath good place in learnyng, but not, by
 myne opinion, for any scholer; but is onelie to be left to a perfite mas-
 ter, eyther to expound openlie a good author withall, or to compare
 privatelie, for his owne exercise, how some notable place of an excel-
 lent author may be uttered with other fitte wordes. But if ye alter
 also the composition, forme, and order, then that is not *Paraphrasis*,
 but *Imitatio*, as I will fullie declare in fitter place.

The scholer shall winne nothing by *Paraphrasis*, but onelie, if we
 may believe *Tullie*, to choose worse wordes, to place them out of or-
 der, to feare overmoch the judgement of the master, to mislike over-
 moch the hardnes of learnyng; and by use to gather up faultes, which
 hardlie will be left of againe.

The master in teaching it, shall rather encrease hys owne labour, than
 his scholers proffet. For when the scholer shall bring unto his master
 a piece of *Tullie*, or *Cæsar*, turned into other *Latin*, then must the
 master

master come to *Quintilianus* goodlie lesson *de Emendatione*; " which (as ^{De Instit.} " he sayeth) is * the most profitable part of teaching;" but not in ^{Orat. lib. x.} myne opinion, and namelie for youth in grammer scholes. For the master nowetaketh double pains; first, to marke what is amisse; againe, to invent what may be sayd better. And here perchance, a verie good master may easilie both deceive himselfe, and lead his scholer into error.

It requireth greater learnyng, and deeper judgement, than is to be hoped for at any scholemasters hand; that is, to be able alwaies learn- edlie, and perfitelie,

{ *Mutare, † quod ineptum est:*
 { *Transmutare, quod perversum est:*
 { *Replere, quod deest:*
 { *Detrahere, quod obest:*
 { *Expungere, quod inane est.*

And that which requireth more skill, and deeper consideration,

{ *Premere tumentia:*
 { *Extollere humilia:*
 { *Astringere luxuriantia:*
 { *Componere dissoluta.*

The master may here onlie stumble, and perchance faull in teaching, to the marring and mayming of the scholer in learnyng; when it is a matter of moch readyng, of great learnyng, and tried judgement, to make trewe difference betwixt

* " Sequitur emendatio, pars studiorum longe utilissima. Neque enim sine causa creditum est, *Stilum non minus agere, cum delet.*" *Quint.*

† These directions for emendation are taken from *Quintilian*. " Hujus autem operis est, " *adficere, detrahere, mutare. Sed facilius in his simpliciusque judicium, quæ replenda, " vel dejicienda sunt: premere verò tumentia, humilia extollere, luxuriantia astringere, " inordinata digerere, soluta componere, exultantia coercere, duplicis operæ."*

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{ Sublime, & tumidum :
 { Grande, & immodicum :
 { Decorum, & ineptum :
 { Perfectum, & nimium.

Some men of our time counted perfite masters of eloquence *, in their owne opinion the best, in other mens judgements very good; (as *Omphalius* everie where, *Sadoletus* in many places; yea also my friende *Oforius*, namelie in his epistle to the queene, and in his whole booke *de Justicia*) have so over reached themselves in making trewe difference in the poyntes afore rehearsed, as though they had been brought up † in some schole in *Asia*, to learne to decline, rather than in *Athens* with *Plato*, *Aristotle*, and *Demosthenes*, (from whence *Tullie* fetched his eloquence) to understand, what in everie matter to be spoken, or written on, is, in verie deede, *Nimium*, *Satis*, *Parum*; that is for to say, to all considerations, *Decorum*: which as it is the hardest point in all learnyng, so is it the fairest and onlie marke that scholers, in all their studie, must alwayes shote at, if they purpose an other day, to be either founde in religion, or wise and discrete in any vocation of the common wealth.

Agayne, in the lowest degree, it is no low point of learnyng and judgement, for a scholemaster to make trewe difference betwixt

{ Humile, & depressum :
 { Lene, & remissum :
 { Siccum, & aridum :
 { Exile, & macrum :
 { Inaffectatum, & neglectum.

* “Familiaris noster M. Bucculejus, homo neque meo judicio stultus, et suo valde sapiens.” *Cicero de Orat. lib. 1.*

† What sort of oratory the *Asiatics* generally affected, is easily seen in *Tully*. A passage or two to this purpose, I shall cite out of his book *de claris Orat.* “Genera autem Asiaticæ dictionis, duo sunt: unum sententiosum, & argutum, sententiis non tam gravibus, & severis, quàm concinnis & venustis. Aliud autem genus est, non tam sententiis frequentatum, quàm verbis volucre, atque incitatum; quali est nunc Asia tota, nec flumine solum orationis, sed etiam exornato, & faceto genere verborum.” And in the same book, “Hinc Asiatici oratores non contemnendi quidem nec celeritate, nec copia, sed parùm pressi, & nimis redundantes. Rhodii saniores, & Atticorum familiiores.”

In these poyntes, some loving *Melancthon* well, as he was well wor-
thie, but yet not confidering well, nor wifelie, how he of nature, and
all his life and studie by judgement, was whollie spent in *Genere discipli-*
nabili; that is, in teaching, reading, and expounding plainlie and apt-
lie fchole matters; and therefore imployed thereunto a fitte, fenfible,
and caulme kinde of fpeaking and writing: some, I fay, with very well
liking, but not with verie well weying *Melancthon*s doinges, do
frame themselves a ftyle, cold, leane, and weake, though the matter be
never fo warme and earnest; not moch unlike unto one, that had a
pleasure, in a rough, raynie, winter day, to clothe himfelfe with no-
thing els* but a demie buckram caffock, plaine without plaites, and
fingle without lynyng; which will neither beare of winde nor wether,
nor yet kepe out the funne in any hote day.

Some fuppofe, and that by good reason, that *Melancthon* himfelfe
came to this low kinde of writyng, by using over moch *Paraphrafis* in
reading. For ftudying therebie to make everie thing ftraight and eafie,
in fmothng and playning all things to much, never leaveth, whiles the
fenfe it felfe be left both lowfe and leafie. And some of thofe *Para-*
phrafes of *Melancthon* be fet out in printe, as, *Pro Archia Poeta*, & *Mar-*
co Marcello: but a fcholer, by myne opinion, is better occupied in play-
ing or fleeping, than in fpending tyme, not onlie vainlie, but alfo harme-
fullie, in foch a kinde of exercife.

If a mafter would have a perfitte example to folow, how in *Genere*
sublimi, to avoide *Nimum*; or in *Mediocri*, to atteyne *Satis*; or in *Humi-*
li, to efchew *Parum*; let him read diligently for the firft, *fecundam Phi-*
lippicam; for the meane, *de Natura Deorum*; and for the loweft, *Parti-*
tiones. Or if in another tonge ye looke for like example, in like perfec-
tion, for all thofe three degrees, read *Pro Ctesiphonte*, *ad Leptinem*, & *Demofthe-*
Contra Olympiodorum; and what witte, arte, and diligence is hable to
affourde, ye fhall plainlie fee.

For our tyme, the odde man to performe all three perfittie, what-
foever he doth, and to know the way to do them skilfullie, whenfo-

* Horace, "Campeftre nivalibus auris."

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ever he list, is, in my poore opinion, *Joannes Sturmius*. He also coun-
celleth all scholers to be ware of *Paraphrasis*, except it be from worse to
better; from rude and barbarous, to proper and pure *Latin*; and yet
no man to exercise that neyther, except soch one, as is alreadie fur-
nished with plentie of learnyng, and grounded with stedfast judgement
before.

All theis faultes, that thus manie wise men do finde with the exer-
cise of *Paraphrasis*, in turning the best *Latin* into other, as good as
they can; that is, ye may be sure, into a great deale worse, than it was,
both in right choise for propriety, and trewe placing for good order,
are committed also commonlie in all common scholes by the schole-
masters, in tossing and trobling yong wittes (as I sayd* in the begin-
ning) with that butcherlie feare in making of *Latins*.

Therefore, in place of *Latins* for yong scholers, and of *Paraphrasis*
for the masters, I would have double translation specially used. For
in double translating a perfite piece of *Tullie*, or *Cæsar*, neyther the
scholer in learnyng, nor the master in teaching can erre. A true toch-
stone, a sure mete-wand lieth before both their eyes. For all right con-
gruity, propriety of wordes, order in sentences; the right imitation to
invent good matter, to dispose it in good order, to confirme it with
good reason, to expresse any purpose fitlie and orderlie, is learned thus
both easilie and perfitle. Yea, to misse sometye in this kinde of
translation, bringeth more proffet than to hit right either in *Paraphra-
sis*, or making of *Latins*. For though ye say well in a *Latin* making,
or in a *Paraphrasis*, yet you being but in doute, and uncertayne, whe-
ther ye saie well, or no, ye gather and lay up in memorie no sure frute
of learnyng thereby; but if ye fault in translation, ye are easilie taught,
how perfitle to amende it, and so well warned, how after to eschew
all soch faultes againe.

Paraphrasis therefore, by myne opinion, is not meete for grammar
scholes; nor yet verie fitte for yong men in the universitie, untill studie
and tyme have bred in them perfite learnyng, and stedfast judgement.

* See page 199.

There is a kinde of *Paraphrasis*, which may be used without all hurt, to moch profit; but it serveth onely the *Greeke*, and not the *Latin*, nor no other tonge; as to alter *linguam Ionicam*, aut *Doricam*, into *meram Atticam*. A notable example there is left unto us by a notable learned man, *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*; who, * in his booke *περὶ Συνθέσεως Ὀνομάτων*, doth translate the goodlie storie of *Candaules*, and *Gyges*, in the first booke of *Herodotus*, out of *Ionica lingua*, into *Atticam*. Read the place, and ye shall take both pleasure and proffet in conference of it. A man that is exercised in reading *Thucydides*, *Xenophon*, *Plato*, and *Demosthenes*, in using to turne like places of *Herodotus*, after like sorte, should shortlie come to soch a knowledge in understanding, speaking, and writing the *Greeke* tonge, as fewe or none have yet atteyned in *Englande*. The like exercise out of *Dorica lingua* may be also used, if a man take † that litle booke of *Plato*, *Timæus Locrus*, de *Anima mundi*, & *Natura*, which is written *Doricè*, and turne it into soch *Greeke* as *Plato* useth in other workes. The booke is but two leaves, and the labor would be but two weekes; but surelie the proffet, for easie understanding, and trewe writing the *Greeke* tonge, would countervaile wyth the toile that some men take in otherwise coldlie reading that tonge two yeares.

And yet for the *Latin* tonge, and for the exercise of *Paraphrasis* in those places of *Latin*, that cannot be bettered, if some yong man, excellent of witte, couragious in will, lustie of nature, and desirous to contend even with the best *Latin*, to better it, if he can; surelie I commend his forwardnesse: and for his better instruction therein, I will set before him as notable an example of *Paraphrasis*, as is in record of learnyng. *Cicero* himselfe doth contend, in two sondrie places, to expresse one matter with divers wordes; and that is *Paraphrasis*, saith *Quintilian*. The matter, I suppose, is taken out of *Panætius*; and therefore being translated out of *Greeke* at divers times, is uttered for his purpose, with divers wordes and formes; which kinde of exercise, for perfite learned men, is verie profitable.

* I have here given the true title of *Dionysius's* book. 'Twas at first printed, *περὶ Συντάξεως Ἀμαρτημάτων μνημονικῶν*. The story of *Candaules* and *Gyges* is pag. 24. of the *London* edition of *Dionysius*.

† One would imagine from these words, Mr. *Ascham* believed *Plato* to be the author of that treatise. The title of it is, *Τιμαίω τῷ Λοκρῶ περὶ ψυχᾶς Κόσμου, καὶ Φύσεως*.

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De Finibus, Lib. sec.

*Homines enim, * etsi aliis multis, tamen hoc uno à bestiis plurimum differunt, quòd rationem habeant à natura datam, mentemque & acrem & vigentem, celerrimeque multa simul agitantem, & ut ita dicam, sagacem: quæ & causas rerum, & consecutiones videat, & similitudines transferat, & disjuncta conjungat, & cum præsentibus futura copulet, omnemque complectatur vitæ consequentis statum. Eademque ratio fecit hominem hominum appetentem, cumque his natura, & sermone, & usu congruentem; ut profectus à caritate domesticorum, ac suorum, serpat longius, & se implicet primum civium, deinde omnium mortalium societate: atque, ut ad Archytam scripsit Plato, non sibi se soli natum meminerit, sed patriæ, sed suis, ut perexigua pars ipsi relinquatur. Et quoniam eadem natura cupiditatem ingenuit homini veri inveniendi, quod facillime apparet, cum vacui curis, etiam quid in cælo fiat, scire avemus: &c.*

De Officiis, Lib. pri.

Homo autem, quod rationis est particeps, per quam consequentia cernit, causas rerum videt, earumque progressus, & quasi antecessiones non ignorat, similitudines comparat, & rebus præsentibus adjungit, atque annectit futuras: facile totius vitæ cursum videt, ad eamque degendam præparat res necessarias. Eademque natura vi rationis hominem conciliat homini, & ad orationis, & ad vitæ societatem: ingeneratque inprimis præcipuum quendam amorem in eos, qui procreati sunt; impellitque, ut hominum cætus, & celebrationes esse, & à se obiri velit; ob easque causas studeat parare ea, quæ suppedient & ad cultum, & ad victum; nec sibi soli, sed conjugii, liberis, cæterisque, quos charos habeat, tuerique debeat. Quæ cura exsuscitat etiam animos, & majores ad rem gerendam facit. Inprimisque hominis est propria veri inquisitio, atque investigatio. Itaque cum sumus necessariis negotiis, curisque vacui, tum avemus aliquid videre, audire, addiscere; cognitionemque rerum aut occultarum, aut admirabilem, ad beatè vivendum necessariam ducimus.

The conference of these two places, conteyning so excellent a piece of learyng, as this is, expressed by so worthy a witte, as Tullies was,

* These citations, which were very imperfect before, are now carefully corrected from the printed editions of Tully. And here I can't but observe, that this book has undergone the common fate of all orphans, and suffered very much for its parent's untimely death.

must needes bring great pleasure and proffit to him, that maketh trewe counte of learnyng and honesty. But if we had the *Greek* author, the first paterne of all, and thereby to see how *Tullies* witte did worke at diverse times; how, out of one excellent image might be framed two other, one in face and favour, but somewhat differing in forme, figure, and colour; surely such a piece of workmanship, compared with the paterne itselſe, would better please the eies of honest, wiſe, and learned myndes, than two of the faireſt *Venusſes* that ever *Apelles* made.

And thus moch for all kinde of *Paraphraſis*, fitte or unfitte, for ſcho- lers or other, as I am led to thinke, not onlye by myne owne experi- ence, but chiefly by the authoritie and judgement of thoſe, whom I myſelfe would gladlyeſt folow, and do counſell all myne to do the ſame; not contendyng with any other, that will otherwiſe either thinke, or do.

METAPHRASIS.

This kinde of exerciſe is all one with *Paraphraſis*, ſave it is out of verſe, either into proſe, or into ſome other kinde of meter; or elſe out of proſe into verſe, which was *Socrates* exerciſe and paſtime (as *Plato* re- porteth) when he was * in priſon, to tranſlate *Æſopes Fabules* into verſe. *Plato* in *Phæ-*
Quintilian doth greatlie praiſe † alſo this exerciſe: but bicauſe *Tullie* done.
doth diſalow it in yong men, by myne opinion, it were not well to uſe it in grammer ſcholes, even for the ſelfe ſame cauſes that be recited againſt *Paraphraſis*. And therefore, for the uſe, and miſuſe of it, the ſame is to be thought that is ſpoken of *Paraphraſis* before. This was *Sulpitius* exerciſe; and he gathering up thereby a poetick kinde of

* What he alludes to here, is in the beginning of *Plato's Phædo*. Περὶ γὰρ τοῖς τῶν ποιημάτων ὧν πεποίηκας, ἐνλείνας τὰς τῆ Αἰσωπικῆς λόγους, καὶ τὸ εἰς τὸν Ἀπόλλω προοίμιον, καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς με ἤκουον ἤδη, ἀτὰρ καὶ Εὐνήδος πρῶτον, ὃς, τι ποτὲ διανοηθείς, ἐπειδὴ δεῦρο ἦλθεις, ἐποίησας αὐτὰ, πρότερον ὅδ' ἐν πώποτε ποιήσας.

† “ Sed & illa ex Latinis conversio, multum & ipsa contulerit. Ac de carminibus quidem neminem credo dubitare, quo solo genere exercitationis dicitur usus esse. Sulpicius. Nam & sublimis spiritus attollere orationem potest; & verba poetica libertate audaciora, præsumunt eandem propriè dicendi facultatem. Sed & ipsis sententiis adjicere licet oratorium robur, & omiſſa ſupplere, et effuſa ſubſtringere.” *Quint. lib. 10.*

THE WORKS OF

talke, is iustlie named of *Cicero*, † *grandis & tragicus orator* : which I think is spoken, not for his praise, but for other mens warning, to eschew the like faulte. Yet nevertheless, if our scholemaster, for his owne instruction, be desirous to see a perfit example hereof, I will recite one, which I thinke, no man is so bold to say, that he can amend it ; and that is *Chryses* the priestes oration to the *Greekes*, in the beginning of *Homers Ilias*, turned excellentlie into prose by *Socrates* himselfe, and that advisedlie and purposedlie for others to folow. And therefore he calleth this exercise * in the same place, *Μίμησις*, that is, *Imitatio* ; which is most trew : but in this booke, for teachyng sake, I will name it *Metaphrasis*, reteinyng the word that all teachers in this case do use.

Ὁ γὰρ ἦλθε θοὰς ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν,
 Λυσόμενός τε θύγατρα, φέρων τ' ἀπερείσι' ἀποινα,
 Στέμμα τ' ἔχων ἐν χερσὶν ἐκηβόλῃ Ἀπόλλωνος,
 Χρυσέῳ ἀνὰ σκήπτρῳ· καὶ ἐλίσσετο πάντας Ἀχαιοὺς,
 Ἀτρεΐδᾳ δὲ μάλισα, δῶκο κοσμήτορε λαῶν.

Ἀτρεΐδαί τε, καὶ ἄλλοι εὐκνήμιδες Ἀχαιοί,
 Ὑμῖν μὲν θεοὶ δοῖεν, Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες,
 Ἐκπέρσαι Πριάμοιο πόλιν, εὖ δ' οἴκαδ' ἰκέσθαι.
 Παιῖδα δέ μοι λύσαιτε φίλην, τὰ δ' ἀποινα δέχεσθε,
 Ἀζόμενοι Διὸς υἱὸν, ἐκηβόλον Ἀπόλλωνα.

Ἐνθ' ἄλλοι μὲν πάντες ἐπευφήμησαν Ἀχαιοί,
 Αἰδεῖσθαι θ' ἱερῆα, καὶ ἀγλαὰ δέχθαι ἀποινα.
 Ἀλλ' ἔκ Ἀτρεΐδῃ Ἀγαμέμνονι ἤνδανε θυμῷ,
 Ἀλλὰ κακῶς ἀφίει, κρατερόν δ' ἐπὶ μῦθον ἔτελλε.

† “ Fuit enim Sulpicius vel maximè omnium, quos quidem audiverim, grandis, & ut ita dicam, tragicus orator. Vox cùm magna, tum suavis & splendida : gestus & motus corporis ita venustus, ut tamen ad forum, non ad scenam institutus videretur. Incitata & volubilis, nec ea redundans tamen, nec circumfluens oratio.” *Cic. de claris Orat. pag. 181.*

From this character here given by *Tully*, *Sulpicius* seems to be called *grandis & tragicus*, rather from his theatrical management of himself in his delivery, than from his stile and method of expression.

* Οὐκ ἔστιν τό γε ὁμοῖον ἑαυτὸν ἄλλῳ, ἢ κατὰ φωνήν, ἢ κατὰ σχῆμα, μιμεῖσθαι ἐστὶν ἐκείνῳ ὃ ἂν τις ὁμοιοῖ ; Τί μὴν ; Ἐν δὴ τῷ τοιαύτῳ (ὡς ἔοικεν) ἑστὸς τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ποιηταὶ διὰ μιμήσεως τὴν διήγησιν ποιοῦνται. Πάνυ μὲν ἔν. Εἰ δέ γε μηδαμῶς ἑαυτὸν ἀποκρύπτει οὗτος ποιητής, πᾶσα ἂν αὐτῷ ἀνευ μιμήσεως ἡ ποιήσις τε καὶ ἡ διήγησις γεγονυῖα εἴη. *Plato de Rep. lib. 3.*

Μή

Μή σε, γέρον, κοίλῃσιν ἐγὼ παρὰ νηυσὶ κίχρῃω,
 ἥ νῦν δηθονοντ', ἢ ὕπερον αὐτὶς ἰόντα,
 Μὴ νύ τοι εἰ χραίσμῃ σκῆπτρον, καὶ ζέμμα θεοῖο.
 Τὴν δ' ἐγὼ εἰ λύσω, πρὶν μιν καὶ γῆρας ἐπεισιν,
 Ἡμετέρῳ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ, ἐν Ἀργεὶ τηλόθι πάτρης
 Ἴσον ἐποιχομενῃν, καὶ ἐμὸν λέχῳ ἀνιόωσαν.
 Ἀλλ' ἴθι, μὴ μ' ἐρέθιζε, σαώτερόν κε νέηαι.

Ὡς ἔφατ', ἔδδεισεν δ' ὁ γέρον, καὶ ἐπείθετο μύθῳ.
 Βῆ δ' ἀκέων παρὰ θῖνα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης.
 Πολλὰ δ' ἔπειτ' ἀπάνευθε κιῶν ἠρᾶθ' ὁ γεραίος
 Ἀπόλλωνι ἀνακτὶ, τὸν ἠύκομόν τεκε Λητώ.

Κλυθὶ μευ, Ἀργυρότοξ', ὃς Χρῦσῃν ἀμφιβέβηκας,
 Κίλλαν τε ζαθέην, Τενέδοιό τε ἴφι ἀνάσσεις,
 Σμινθεῦ· εἵπολέ τοι χαρίεντ' ἐπὶ νηὸν ἔρεψα,
 ἥ εἰ δὴ ποτέ τοι κατὰ πῖονα μηρί' ἔκηα
 Ταύρων, ἧδ' αἰγῶν, τόδε μοι κρήνον ἔελδωρ.
 Τίσειαν Δαναοὶ ἐμὰ δάκρυα σοῖσι βέλεσσιν.

Socrates, in Plato's third book *de Republica*, saith thus: Φράσω δὲ ἄνευ μέτρῳ· εἰ γὰρ εἰμὶ ποιητικός.

Ἦλθεν ὁ Χρῦσης τῆς τε θυγατρὸς λύτρα φέρων, καὶ ἰκέτης τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, μάλισα δὲ τῶν βασιλέων· καὶ εὐχέτο ἐκείνοις μὲν τὰς θεὰς δοῦναι ἐλόντας τὴν Τροίαν, αὐτὰς δὲ σωθῆναι, τὴν δὲ θυγατέρα οἱ αὐτῷ λῦσαι, δεξαμένους ἀποίνα, καὶ τὸν θεὸν αἰδεσθέντας. Τοιαῦτα δὲ εἰπόντ' αὐτῷ, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἐσέβοντο καὶ συνήνουν· ὁ δὲ Ἀγαμέμνων ἠγρίαιεν, ἐντελλόμενος νῦν τε ἀπιέναι, καὶ αὐτὸς μὴ ἐλθεῖν, μὴ αὐτῷ τό, τε σκῆπτρον, καὶ τὰ τῷ θεῷ ζέμματα καὶ ἐπαρκέσοι. πρὶν δὲ λυθῆναι αὐτῷ τὸν θυγατέρα, ἐν Ἀργεὶ ἔφη γηράσειν μετὰ ἑ. ἀπιέναι δὲ ἐκέλευε, καὶ μὴ ἐρέθιζειν, ἵνα σῶς οἴκαδε ἔλθοι. Ὁ δὲ πρεσβύτης ἀκέσας, ἔδιδε τε καὶ ἀπῆε σιγῇ. ἀποχωρήσας δ' ἐκ τῆς στρατοπέδου, πολλὰ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι εὐχέτο, τὰς τε ἐπωνυμίας τῆς θεᾶς ἀνακαλῶν, καὶ ὑπομιμνήσκων καὶ ἀπαλῶν, εἴτι πώποτε ἢ ἐν ναῶν οἰκοδομήσεσιν, ἢ ἐν ἱερῶν θυσιαῖς κεχαρισμένον δωρήσαιο, ὧν δὴ χάριν κατεύχετο τίσαι τὰς Ἀχαιῶν τὰ αὐτὰ δάκρυα τοῖς ἐκείνους βέλεσι.

To compare * *Homer* and *Plato* together, two wonders of nature and arte, for witte and eloquence, is most pleasant and profitable for a man

* *Plato* himself, (if we may believe *Longinus*) as well as the rest of the *Grecian* writers, owes not a little to *Homer*, their common master; tho' he was so ungrateful, as to forbid him his

man of ripe judgement. *Platos* turning of *Homer* in this place doth not ride aloft in poetical termes, but goeth low and soft on foote, as prose and *pedestris oratio* should do. If *Sulpitius* had had * *Platos* consideration in right using this exercise, he had not deserved the name of *tragicus orator*; who should rather have studied to expresse *vim Demosthenis*, than *furorem poetæ*, how good soever he was, whom he did follow.

And therefore would I have our scholemaster wey well together *Homer* and *Plato*, and marke diligentlie these foure pointes; " what is kept, what is added, what is left out, what is changed, either in " choise of wordes, or forme of sentences." Which foure pointes be the right tooles, to handle like a workeman this kinde of worke; as our scholer shall better understand, when he hath bene a good while in the universitie: to which tyme and place, I chiefly remitte this kinde of exercise.

And bicause I ever thought examples to be the best kinde of teaching, I will recite a golden sentence out of that poete, which is next unto *Homer*, not only in tyme, but also in worthiness; which hath been a paterne for many worthie wittes to follow by this kind of *Metaphrasis*. But I will content myselfe with foure workemen, two in *Greke*, and two in *Latin*, soch as, in both the tonges, wiser and worthier cannot be looked for. Surelie no stone set in gold by most cunning workemen, is in deed, if right counte be made, more worthie the looking on,

his Republick. Οὐ γὰρ μόνον Ἡρόδοτος Ὀμηρικώτατος ἐγένετο. Στησίχορος ἐτι πρότερον, ὁ, τε Ἀρχίλοχος. πάντων δὲ τῶντων μάλιστα ὁ Πλάτων ἀπὸ τῶ Ὀμηρικοῦ ἐκίνα νάματος εἰς αὐτὸν μυρίας ὅσας παραίροπας ἀποχετευσάμενος. See. 13.

* Altho' in this instance, and mostly elsewhere, *Plato* flows along in a soft and gentle stream, χεύμαλί τιμι ἀφορητὶ ρέων, as *Longinus* speaks; yet he has his sublimities too, and bold flights. And some passages there are to be found in his writings, not entirely clear of the same censure, which is by *Tully* cast upon *Sulpicius*. And this perhaps might be occasioned likewise by his passionate affection for the muses, and study of poetry in his youthful days. Who can read this sentence, and not be offended, which *Longinus* cites out of his ninth book *de Republica*? Καὶ ἕνεκα τῆς τῶντων πλεονεξίας λακίζουτες, καὶ κυρίτωτες ἀλλήλων σιδηροῖς κέρασι, καὶ ὀπλαῖς, ἀποκλινύουσι δι' ἀπλησίαν. For such harsh and metaphorical expressions as these, and for his poetical and figurative schemes, (σχήμασί τε ποιητικοῖς ἐσχάτην προσβάλλουσιν ἀηδῖαν) *Plato* is somewhat severely handled by *Dionysius*, in his letter to *Cn. Pompey*.

than this golden sentence, diverslie wrought upon by soch foure excellent masters.

Hesiodus, Ἔργ. καὶ Ἡμέρ. α΄.

Οὗτος μὲν πανάριστος, ὃς αὐτὸς πάντα νοήσει,
Φρασσάμενος, τὰ κ' ἐπειτα καὶ ἐς τέλος ἥσιν ἀμείνω.
Ἐσθλὸς δ' αὖ κακῆϊν, ὃς εὖ εἰπόντι πύθηται.
Ὅς δὲ καὶ μήτ' αὐτὸς νοέη, μήτ' ἄλλε ἀκύνων
Ἐν θυμῷ βάλληται, ὃ δ' αὖτ' ἀχρεΐῳ ἀνὴρ.

Thus rudelie turned into base English :

*That man in wisedome passeth all,
To know the best, who hath a head:
And meetelie wise eeke counted shall,
Who yielde himselfe to wise mens read.
Who hath no witte, nor none will beare,
Amonge all fooles the bell may beare.*

Sophocles in Antigone.

Γνώμη γὰρ εἴ τις καὶ π' ἐμῷ νεωτέρῳ
Πρόσεσι, φήμ' ἐγώ γε, πρεσβεύειν πολὺ
Φύναι τὸν ἄνδρα πάντ' ἐπιστήμης πλέω.
Εἰ δ' οὖν, (φιλεῖ γὰρ τῷτο μὴ ταύτῃ ῥέπειν)
Καὶ τῶν λεγόντων εὖ, καλὸν τὸ μανθάνειν.

Marke the wisedome of *Sophocles* in leavyng out the last sentence, bicause it was not comlie * for the sonne to use it to his father.

St. Basil, in his Exhortation to Youth.

Μέμνησθε † τῷ Ἡσιόδῳ, ὃς φησί· Ἄριστον μὲν εἶναι τὸν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ τὰ δεόντα
ξυνορῶντα, ἐσθλὸν δὲ κακῆϊνον, τὸν τοῖς παρ' ἑτέρων ὑποδειχθεῖσιν ἐπόμενον· τὸν
δὲ πρὸς ἑδῆτερον ἐπιτήδειον, ἀχρεῖον εἶναι πρὸς ἅπαντα.

M.

* *Hæmon* speaks to his father *Creon*: I have added the first verse, in this edition, from *Sophocles*.

† This is taken from the beginning of *St. Basil's discourse to the young students, directing them how to read the Grecian writers with advantage.* Εἰ μὲν ἔν προθύμῳ δέχοισθε τὰ λεγόμενα,
τῆς

M. Cicero pro A. Cluentio.

Sapientissimum esse dicunt eum, cui quod opus sit, ipsi veniat in mentem : proxime accedere illum, qui alterius bene inventis obtemperet. In stultitia contra est. Minus enim stultus est is, cui nihil in mentem venit, quàm ille, qui quod stulte alteri venit in mentem, comprobatur.

Cicero doth not plainlie expresse the last sentence, but doth invent it fitlie for his purpose, to taunt the follie and simplicitie in his adversarie *Actius*, not weying wiselie the fute doynges of *Chrysogonus*, and *Stalenus*.

Tit. Livius in orat. Minucii, lib. 22.

Sæpe ego audiivi, milites, eum primum esse virum, qui ipse consulat, quid in rem sit ; secundum eum, qui bene monenti obediat : qui nec ipse consulere, nec alteri parere scit, eum extremi esse ingenii.

Now which of all these foure, *Sophocles*, *St. Basil*, *Cicero*, or *Livie*, * hath expressed *Hesiodus* best, the judgement is as hard, as the workmanship of everie one is most excellent indeede.

Another example out of the *Latin* tonge also I will recite, for the worthines of the workman thereof, and that is *Horace* ; who hath so turned the begynning of *Terences Eunuchus*, as doth worke in me a pleasant admiration, as oft so ever as I compare those two places together. And though everie master, and everie good scholer to, do know the places both in *Terence* and *Horace* ; yet will I set them here in one place together, that with more pleasure they may be compared together.

τῆς δευτέρας τῶν ἐπαινεμένων ἔσσεθαι παρ' Ἡσιόδῳ τάξεως. εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐδὲν ἂν εἴποιμι δυσχερές· αὐτοὶ δὲ μέμνησθε τῶν ἐπῶν δηλονότι, ἐν οἷς ἐκεῖνος φησί· Ἄριστον, ὦρε.

* To these passages already cited by our author, I shall add another from *Plutarch*, who seems plainly to have had *Hesiod* in his eye : Τὸ μὲν ἀμαρτεῖν μηδὲν ἐν πράγμασι μεγάλοις, μείζον ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπον ἐστὶ· τὸν δ' ἀμαρτόν τε χρῆσασθαι τοῖς πλάσμασι, διδάγμασι πρὸς τὸ λοιπὸν, ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ καὶ νῦν ἔχοντος. Perhaps after πλάσμασι, the particle *ως* may be well inserted.

Terentius

Terentius in Eunucho.

*Quid igitur faciam? non eam? ne nunc quidem
Cum accersor ultro? an potius ita me comparem,
Non perpeti meretricum contumelias?
Exclufit, revocat; redeam? non fi me obsecret.*

Parmeno a little after:

*Here, quæ res in fe neque confilium neque modum
Habet ullum, eam confilio regere non potes.
In amore hæc omnia infunt vitia; injuriæ,
Suspiciones, inimicitia, induciæ,
Bellum, pax rurfum. Incerta hæc fi tu postules
Ratione certa facere, nibilo plus agas,
Quàm fi des operam, ut cum ratione infanias.*

Horatius, ferm. lib. 2. fat. 3.

*Nec nunc, cùm me vocet ultro,
Accedam? an potius mediter finire dolores?
Exclufit, revocat: redeam? non, fi obsecret. Ecce
Servus non paulò fapientior: O here, quæ res
Nec modum habet, neque confilium, ratione modoque,
Traçtari non vult. In amore hæc funt mala, bellum,
Pax rurfum. hæc fi quis tempeftatis prope ritu
Mobilia, & cæcâ fluitantia forte, labore
Reddere certa fibi, nibilo plus explicet, ac fi
Infanire paret certâ ratione, modoque.*

This exercife may bring moch profite to ripe heades, and ftayd judgements; bicaufe in traveling in it, the mynde muft needes be verie attentive, and bufilie occupied in turning and toffing itfelfe many wayes, and conferryng with great pleasure, the varietie of worthie wittes and judgements together. But this harme may fone come thereby, and namelie to yong fcholars, left in seeking other wordes, and newe forme of sentences, they chance upon the worfe: for the which onelie caufe, Cicero thinketh this exercife not to be fit for yong men.

EPI TOME.

This is a way of studie belonging rather to matter than to wordes; to memorie, than to utterance; to those that be learned already, and hath small place at all amonges yong scholers in grammar scholes. It may proffit privately some learned men, but it hath hurt generallie learnyng itselfe very moch. For by it we have lost whole *Trogus*, the best part of *T. Livius*, the goodly dictionarie of * *Pompeius Festus*, a great deale of the civile law, and other many notable bookes: for the which cause, I do the more mislike this exercise both in old and yong.

Epitome is good privatelie for himselfe that doth worke it, but ill commonlie for all others, that use other mens labor therein. A fillie poore kinde of studie, not unlike to the doing of those poore folke, which neither till, nor sowe, nor reape themselves, but gleane by stealth upon other mens groundes. Soch have empty barnes for deare yeares.

Grammar scholes have fewe *Epitomes* to hurt them, except *Epitheta Textoris*, and such beggarlie gatheringes, as † *Horman*, ‡ *Whittington*, and other like *Vulgares* for making of *Latines*. Yea I do wishe, that

* This dictionary of *Festus*, as it was a learned, so was it a voluminous work: for it contained no less than twenty large books, as we may see from *Paulus Diaconus's* words, who epitomiz'd it. "Festus Pompejus Romanis studiis affatim eruditus, tam sermonum abditiorum, quam etiam quarundam causarum origines aperiens, opus suum ad viginti usque prolixo volumina extendit."

† He is mentioned before. The title of his book is, *Vulgaria Viri doctissimi Gul. Hormanni Cæsarisburgensis*. And 'tis dedicated to his friend and patron, *William Atwater* Bishop of *Lincoln*. It consists of single sentences in *English* and *Latin*, without either order or connection, excepting that they are ranged under certain general heads: one of which, being in honour of our royal founder, (who was design'd to have been canoniz'd, had not the charges at *Rome* prov'd excessive) I shall give the reader as a specimen:

King Henry doth many divers miracles.
Divus Henricus non una miraculorum specie inclarescit.

‡ *Rob. Whittington* was educated in *Oxford*. He was thought by some little inferior to the ablest schole-masters of the age, not excepting even *Lily*; with whom, and *Horman*, he could not agree: they resenting the title of *Proto-vates Angliæ*, which *Whittington* had vainly assumed. He published a great deal; and amongst the rest, his *Vulgaria* likewise: to which titles Mr. *Ascham* alludes in the next words; and other like *Vulgars* for making of *Latins*.

all

all rules for yong scholers were shorter than they be. For without doute, *Grammatica* itselfe is sooner and surer learned by examples of good authors, than by the naked rules of *Grammarians*. *Epitome* hurteth more in the universities, and studie of philosophie; but most of all in divinitie itselfe.

Indeede bookes of common places be verie necessary to induce a man into an orderlie general knowledge, how to referre orderlie, all that he readeth, *ad certa rerum capita*, and not wander in studie. And to that end did *Pet. Lombardus*, the master of sentences, and *Phil. Melancthon* in our daies, write two notable bookes of common places.

But to dwell in *Epitomes*, and bookes of common places, and not to binde himselfe dailie by orderlie studie, to reade with all diligence principallie the holyest Scripture, and withall the best doctors, and so to learne to make trewe difference betwixt the authoritie of the one, and the councell of the other, maketh so many seeming, and sunburnt ministers, as we have; whose learning is gotten in a sommer heat, and washed away with a *Christmas* snow againe: who neverthelesse are lesse to be blamed, than those blind buffardes, who in late yeares, of wilfull malicioufnes, would neyther learne themselves, nor could teach others any thing at all.

Paraphrasis hath done lesse hurt to learnyng, than *Epitome*: for no *Paraphrasis*, though there be many, shall ever take away *David's* Psalter. *Erasmus Paraphrasis*, being never so good, shall never banish the New Testament. And in another schole, the *Paraphrasis* of *Bocardus*, or *Sambucus*, shall never take *Aristotles* Rhetoricke, nor *Horace de Arte Poetica*, out of learned mens handes.

But as concerning a schole *Epitome*, he that would have an example of it, let him read * *Lucian* περὶ Κάλλους, which is the verie *Epitome* of

* *Lucian's* Εἰκόνες is here pointed at; in which treatise *Panthea*, the *Smyrna* beauty, is described with so much ostentation of wit and learning. Τὴν δὲ περὶ Κάλλους κατ' ἰδίαν Λευκιανὸς μιμήσασθαι πραγματείαν ἐπιχειρήσας, ὃ μὲν κατωρθωκέναι δοκεῖ τοῖς κριτικωτέροις τῶν φιλοσοφῶν. "Partem de pulchritudine, peculiari opere Lucianus æmulatus est, conatu majore, si doctis credimus, quàm successu." Vide Argumentum Wolfii in *Isocratis Helenæ Laudationem*.

Isocrates oration *de Laudibus Helenæ* : whereby he may learne, at the least, this wise lesson, " that a man ought to beware, to be overbold in " altering an excellent mans worke."

Nevertheles, some kinde of *Epitome* may be used by men of skillful judgement, to the great proffet also of others. As if a wise man would take * *Halles* Chronicle, where moch good matter is quite marred with indenture *Englishe* : and first, change strange and inkhorne termes into proper and commonlie used wordes ; next, specially to wede out that, that is superfluous and idle, not onlie where wordes be vainlie heaped one upon another, but also where many sentences of one meaning, be so clouted up together, as though M. *Hall* had bene, not writing the storie of *England*, but varying a sentence in *Hitching* schole. Surelie a wise learned man, by this way of *Epitome*, in cutting away wordes and sentences, and diminishing nothing at all of the matter, shold leave to mens use a storie, half as moch as it was in quantitie, but twise as good as it was, both for pleasure, and also commoditie.

Another kinde of *Epitome* may be used likewise very well to moch proffet. Some man either by lustines of nature, or brought by ill teaching to a wrong judgement, is over full of wordes, sentences, and matter : and yet all his wordes be proper, apt, and well chosen ; all his sentences be rownd, and trimlie framed ; his whole matter grounded upon good reason, and stuffed with full argumentes for his intent and purpose : Yet when his talke shall be heard, or his writing be red of such one, as is either of my two dearest frendes, M. *Haddon* at home, or *John Sturmius* in *Germanie* ; that *Nimium* in him, which fooles and unlearned will most commend, shall eyther of theis two bite his lippe, or shake his head at it.

This fulnes, as it is not to be misliked † in a yong man, so in further aige, in greater skill, and weightier affaires, is to be tempered ; or else discretion.

* Mr. *Edw. Hall* was counsellor at law, and writ his Chronicle of the union of the two houses of *York* and *Lancaster* in the time of *Edward VI.* Bp. *Burnet*, in the preface to his history, stiles him a *superficial* writer.

† This fulness, and exuberancy, is what both *Tully* and *Quintilian* desire in youth.
" Audeat hæc ætas plura, & inveniatur, & inventis gaudeat, sint licet illa non satis interim
" sicca

discretion and judgement shall seeme to be wanting in him. But if his stile be still over rancke and lustie; as some men being never so old, and spent by yeares, will still be full of youthfull conditions; (as was * Sir *Francis Bryan*, and evermore would have bene) soch a rancke and full writer must use, if he will do wiselie, the exercise of a verie good kinde of *Epitome*, and do, as certaine wise men do, that be over fat, and fleshie: who, leaving their owne full and plentiful table, go to sojorne abroad from home for a while, at the temperate diet of some sober man: and so by little and little, cut away the grosseness that is in them.

As for an example; if *Orosius* would leave of his lustines in striving against St. *Austin*, and his over rancke rayling against poor *Luther*, and the troth of Gods doctrine; and give his whole studie, not to write any thing of his owne for a while, but to translate *Demosthenes* with so straite, fast, and temperate a stile in *Latin*, as he is in *Greke*; he would become so perfect and pure a writer, I believe, as hath been fewe or none since *Ciceroes* daies. And so by doing himself, and all learned men, moch good, do others lesse harme, and Christes doctrine lesse injury, than he doth: and withall, wyn unto himselfe many worthy frendes, who agreeing with him gladly in the love and liking of excellent learning, are sorrie to see so worthie a witte, so rare eloquence wholie spent, and consumed, in striving with God and good men.

Amonges the rest, no man doth lament him more than I; not onelie for the excellent learning that I see in him, but also bicause there hath passed privatelie betwixt him and me, sure tokens of moch good will, and friendlie opinion, the one toward the other. And surelie the dis-

“ sicca & severa. Facile remedium est ubertatis, sterilia nullo labore vincuntur. Illa mihi
“ in pueris natura minimum spei dabit, in qua ingenium iudicio præsumitur. Materiam esse
“ primum volo vel abundantior, atque ultra quam oporteat fufam. — Quod me de
“ his ætatibus sentire minus mirabitur, qui apud Ciceronem legerit, *Volo enim se efferat in*
“ *adolescente fœcunditas.*” *Quint. de Inst. Orat. lib. 2.*

This sentence is taken by *Quintilian* out of *Tully's* second book *de Oratore*. “ Volo enim
“ se efferat in adolescente fœcunditas. Nam facilius, sicut in vitibus, revocantur ea, quæ
“ sese nimium profuderunt, quam si nihil valet materies, nova sarmenta cultura excitantur;
“ ita volo esse in adolescente, unde aliquid amputem. Non enim potest in eo esse succus
“ diuturnus, quod nimis celeriter est maturitatem assecutum.”

* Ambassador at the court of *Rome* for King *Henry VIII.*

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tance betwixt *London* and *Lyfbon*, should not stoppe any kinde of frendlie dewtie, that I could eyther shew to him, or do to his, if the greatest matter of all did not in certeyne pointes separate our myndes.

And yet for my parte, both toward him, and diverse others here at home, for like cause of excellent learnyng, great wisdome, and gentle humanitie, which I have seene in them, and felt at their handes myfelfe; where the matter of difference is mere conscience in a quiet minde inwardlie, and not contentious malice with spitefull rayling openlie, I can be content to follow this rewle, "in misliking some one thing, not
" to hate for anie thing els."

But as for all the bloodie beastes, as that "fat boore of the wood," or those brauling bulls of *Bafan*, or any lurking *Dormus*," blinde not by nature, but by malice, and as may be gathered of their owne testimonie, given over to blindness, for giving over God and his word: or * soch as be so lustie runagates, as first runne from God, and his trewe doctrine; then from their lords, maisters, and all dewtie; next, from themselves, and out of their wittes; lastly, from their prince, contray, and all due allegence; whether they ought rather to be pittied of good men for their miserie, or contemned of wise men for their malicious follie, let good and wise men determine.

And to returne to *Epitome* agayne. Some will judge moch boldnes in me, thus to judge of *Oforius* style; but wise men do know, that meane lookers on may trewlie say, for a well made picture; "This face had
" been more comlie, if that hie redde in the cheeke were somewhat more
" pure fanguin than it is;" and yet the stander by cannot amend it himfelfe by any way.

And this is not written to the dispraise, but to the great commendation of *Oforius*: because *Tullie* himfelfe had the same fulness in him, and therefore went to *Rhodes* to cut it away; † and faith himfelfe, *Recepi*.

* Our author seems, in my opinion, to point to *N. Sanders*, amongst some others.

† Here again we have only part of a sentence (as it came into our author's memory) taken out of *Tully de claris Oratoribus*, near the end. I shall transcribe the whole, since it will bring some light to the argument in hand.

" Quibus

cepi me domum prope mutatus; nam quasi reserverat jam oratio. Which was brought to passe I believe, not onelie by the teaching of *Molo Apollonius*, but also by a good way of *Epitome*, in binding himselfe to translate *meros Atticos oratores*; and so to bring his stile from all lowse grosse-nesse, to soch firme fastnes in *Latin*, as is in *Demosthenes* in *Greke*. And this to be most trew, may easilie be gathered, * not onlie of *L. Crassus* talke in *de Oratore*; but speciallie of *Ciceroes* owne deede † in translating *Demosthenes* and *Æschines* orations *περὶ Στεφάνου*, to that verie ende and purpose.

And although a man growndlie learned alreadie, may take moch proffet himselfe in using, by *Epitome*, to draw other mens workes for his owne memorie sake into shorter rowme; (as *Canterus* hath done verie well the whole *Metamorphosis* of *Ovid*, and *David Cythraeus* a great deale better, *the nine Muses* of *Herodotus*; and *Melancthon*, in myne opinion, far best of all, the whole storie of time, not onelie to his owne use, but to other mens proffet, and hys great praise) yet *Epitome* is most necessarie of all in a mans owne writing, as we learne of that

“ Quibus non contentus, Rhodum veni, meque ad eundem, quem Romæ audiveram, Molonem applicavi, cum actorem in veris causis, scriptoremque præstantem, tum in notandis, animadvertendisque vitiis, & instituendo, docendoque prudentissimum. Is dedit operam (si modò id consequi potuit) ut nimis redundantes nos, & superfluentes juvenili quadam dicendi impunitate & licentia, reprimeret, & quasi extra ripas diffuentes coereret. Ita recepi me biennio post non modò exercitior, sed prope mutatus. Nam & contentio nimia vocis reciderat, & quasi reserverat oratio, lateribusque vires, & corporis mediocris habitus accesserat.”

* See *Crassus's* words, cited in the notes; pag. 200.

† Tho' 'tis certain enough, that *Tully* did translate these two orations; yet I'm apt to think from his own words, that he did it rather as an example to encourage young students to take pains that way, than with any design to improve himself; his own stile much earlier being brought to its full perfection.

“ Sed cum in eo magnus error esset, quale esset id dicendi genus; putavi mihi suscipiendum laborem; utilem studiosis, mihi quidem ipsi non necessarium. Converti enim ex Atticis, duorum eloquentissimorum nobilissimas orationes inter se contrarias, Æschinis Demosthenisque: nec converti, ut interpres, sed ut orator, sententiis iisdem, & earum formis, tanquam figuris, verbis ad nostram consuetudinem aptis: in quibus non verbum pro verbo necesse habui reddere, sed genus omnium verborum, vimque servavi. Non enim ea me annumerare lectori putavi oportere, sed tanquam appendere.”

This opinion of mine will still appear more probable, from the last words of this introduction to these two orations: “ Erit regula, ad quam eorum dirigantur orationes, qui Atticè volunt dicere.”

noble

noble poet *Virgil*; who, if *Donatus* * say trewe, in writing that perfite worke of the *Georgickes*, used dailie, when he had written forty or fifty verses, not to cease cutting, paring, and polishing of them, till he had brought them to the number of ten or twelve.

And this exercise is not more nedefullie done in a great worke, than wiselie done in our common dailie writing, either of letter, or other thing else; that is to say, to peruse diligentlie, and see and spie wiselie, what is alwaies more than nedeth. For twentie to one, offend more in writing to moch, than to little: even as twenty to one, fall into sicknesse, rather by over moch fulnes, than by any lacke or emptinesse. And therefore is he alwaies the best *English* physician, that best can give a purgation; that is, by way of *Epitome* to cut all over-much away. And surelie mens bodies be not more full of ill humors, than commonlie mens myndes (if they be yong, lustie, proude, like and love themselves well, as most men do) be full of fantasies, opinions, errors, and faultes, not onlie in inward invention, but also in all their utterance, either by pen or talke.

And of all other men, even those that have the inventivest heades for all purposes, and roundest tonges in all matters and places (except they learne and use this good lesson of *Epitome*) commit commonlie greater faultes, than dull, staying, silent men do. For quick inventors, and faire readie speakers, being boldned with their present habilitie to say more, and perchance better to, at the soden for that present, than any other can do; use lesse helpe of diligence and studie than they ought to do; and so have in them commonlie lesse learning, and weaker judgement for all deepe considerations, than some duller heades, and slower tonges have.

* The passage alluded to in *Virgil's* life is this: "Cum Georgica scriberet, traditur quotidie meditados mane plurimos versus dictare solitus, ac per totum diem retractando ad paucissimos redigere: non absurdè, carmen se ursæ more parere dicens, & lambendo demum effingere."

The same is reported of our countryman, Mr. *Milton*, whom we may justly match with *Virgil*; that usually every morning, as he lay in bed, he tumbled over in his thoughts the verses he had made the day before, and never ceased altering and changing of them, till he had reduc'd them with inimitable exactness to a far less number.

And

And therefore readie speakers generallie be not the best, playnest, and wisest writers, nor yet the deepest judgers in weightie affaires : because they do not tarry to weye and judge all thinges as they should ; but having their heads over full of matter, be like pennes over full of inke, which will sooner blotte, than make any fair letter at all. Tyme was, when I had experience of two ambassadors in one place ; the one of a hote head to invent, and of a hastie hand to write ; the other, cold and stayd in both : but what difference of their doinges was made by wise men, is not unknown to some persons. The bishop of *Winchester*, * *Steph. Gardiner*, had a quicke head, and a readie tonge, and yet was not the best writer in *Englande*. *Cicero*, in *Brutus*, doth wisely † note the same in *Serg. Galba*, and *Q. Hortensius* ; who were both hote, lustie, and plaine speakers, but colde, lowse, and rough writers. And *Tullie* telleth the cause why ; saying, when they spake, their tonge was naturally carried with full tyde and wynde of their witte ; when they wrote, their head was solitarie, dull, and caulme ; and so their style was blonte, and their writing colde. *Quod vitium, faith Cicero, peringeniosis hominibus, neque satis doctis, plerumque accidit.*

And therefore all quicke inventors, and readie faire speakers, must be carefull, that, to their goodness of nature, they adde also in any

* Bishop *Burnet*, in his character of him, says, *he had a good stile in Latin, and understood the Greek well.* Something of his abilities may be seen in that famous controversy, about the true pronounciation of the *Greek* tongue ; which was managed by him, as *Chancellor*, and by *Mr. Cheke*, and some other learned gentlemen of *Cambridge*, at that time.

† “ Quid igitur, inquit, est causæ, Brutus, si tanta virtus in oratore Galba fuit, cur ea nulla in orationibus ejus appareat ? ” To this question of *Brutus*, amongst other things, *Tully* makes this reply :

“ Nec enim est eadem, inquam, Brute, causa non scribendi, & non tam bene scribendi, quàm dixerint. Nam videmus alios oratores inertia nihil scripsisse, ne domesticus etiam labor accederet ad forensem, pleræque enim scribuntur orationes habitæ jam, non ut habeantur. — — — alios, quod melius putent dicere se posse, quàm scribere : quod peringeniosis hominibus, neque satis doctis, plerumque contigit, ut ipsi Galbæ.

“ Quem fortasse vis non ingenii solum, sed etiam animi, & naturalis quidam dolor dicentem incendebat, efficiebatque, ut & incitata, & gravis, & vehemens esset oratio : dein cum otiosus stilum prehenderat, motusque omnis animi, tanquam ventus, hominem defecerat, flaccebat oratio : quod iis, qui limatius dicendi consectantur genus, accidere non solet, propterea quod prudentia nunquam deficit oratorem, qua ille utens eodem modo possit & dicere & scribere. Ardor animi non semper adest, isque cum confedit, omnis illa vis, & quasi flamma oratoris extinguitur. Hanc igitur ob causam videtur *Lælii* mens spirare etiam in scriptis, Galbæ autem vis occidisse.” *Cic. de claris Orat.*

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wise studie, labor, leasure, learnyng, and judgement; and then they shall in deede passe all other, (as I know some do, in whome all those qualities are fullie planted) or else, if they give over moch to their witte, and over little to their labor and learnyng, they will soonest over reach in talke, and fardest come behinde in writing, whatsoever they take in hand. The method of *Epitome* is most necessarie for soch kinde of men. And thus much concerning the use, or misuse, of all kinde of *Epitomes* in matters of learnyng.

I M I T A T I O.

Imitation * is a facultie to expresse livelie and perfitelie that example, which ye go about to folow. And of itselke it is large and wide; for all the works of nature, in a manner, be examples for arte to folow.

But to our purpose: All languages, both learned, and mother tonges, be gotten, and gotten onlie by *Imitation*. For as ye use to heare, so ye learne to speake. If ye heare no other, ye speake not your selfe; and whom ye onlie heare, of them ye onlie learne.

And therefore, if ye would speake as the best and wisest do, ye must be conversant where the best and wisest are; but if you be borne, or brought up in a rude contrie, ye shall not chose but speak rudelie. The rudest man of all knoweth this to be trewe.

Yet neverthelesse, the rudenes of common and mother tonges is no bar for wise speaking. For in the rudest contrie, and most barbarous mother language, many be founde that can speake verie wiselie: but in the *Greke* and *Latin* tonges, the two onlie learned tonges, which be kept not in common taulke, but in private bookes; we find alwaies wisdom and eloquence, good matter and good utterance, never, or seldom asonder. For all such authors as be fullest of good matter, and right judgement in doctrine, be likewise alwaies most proper in wordes, most apt in sentence, most plaine and pure in uttering the same.

* "Imitatio est, quâ impellimur cum diligenti ratione, ut aliquorum similes in dicendo
"velimus esse." *Auctor ad Herennium.*

And contrariwise, in those two tonges, all writers, either in religion, or anie sect of philosophie, whosoever be found fonde in judgement of matter, be commonlie found as rude in uttering their myndes. For stoickes, anabaptists, and friers, with epicures, libertines, and monkes, being most like in learnyng and life, are no fonder and pernicious in their opinions, than they be rude and barbarous in their writings. They be not wise therefore that say, "What care I for a mans wordes and utterance, if his matter and reasons be good?" Soch men say so, not so much of ignorance, as eyther of some singular pride in themselves, or some speciall malice of others, or some private and parciall matter, either in religion, or other kind of learnyng. For good and choice meates be no more requisite for healthie bodies, than proper and apte wordes be for good matters; and also plaine and sensible utterance for the best and deepest reasons: "in which two pointes standeth perfite eloquence, one of the fairest and rarest giftes that God doth give to man."

Ye know not what hurte ye do to learnyng, that care not for wordes, but for matter; and so make a divorce betwixt the tonge and the hart. For mark all ages, looke upon the whole course of both the *Greke* and *Latin* tonges, and ye shall surely finde, that, when apte and good wordes began to be neglected, and properties of those two tonges to be confounded, then also began ill deedes to spring; strange maners to oppresse good orders; newe and fonde opinions to strive with old and trewe doctrine, first in philosophie, and after in religion; right judgement of all thinges to be perverted, and so vertue with learnyng is contemned, and studie left off. "Of ill thoughtes commeth perverse judgement; of ill deedes springeth lewde taulke." Which fower misorders, as they mar mans life, so destroy they good learnyng withall.

But beholde the goodnesse of Gods providence for learnyng: all olde authors, and sects of philosophie, which were fondest in opinion, and rudest in utterance, as stoickes, and epicures, first contemned of wise men, and after forgotten of all men, be * so consumed by tyme, as they

* This remark of Mr. *Ascham*'s must necessarily be restrained and limited to the *Grecian* writers, and to those only who flourished when their language was brought to its greatest perfection.

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they be now not onlie out of use, but also out of memorie of man. Which thing, I surelie thinke, will shortelie chance to the whole doctrine and all the bookes of phantastical anabaptistes and friers, and of the beaustlie libertines and monkes.

Againe, behold on the other side, how Gods wisdome hath wrought, that of *Academici* and *Peripatetici*, those that were wisest in judgement of matters, and purest in uttering their myndes, the first and chiefeest, that wrote most and best in either tonge, (as *Plato* and *Aristotle* in *Greeke*, and *Tullie* in *Latin*) be so either wholie, or sufficientlie left unto us, "as I never knew yet scholer, that gave himselfe to like, and " love, and folow chiefe lie those three authors, but he proved both " learned, wise, and also an honest man; if he joynd withall the trewe " doctrine of Gods holie Bible; without the which, the other three " be but fine edge tools in a fools or mad mans hand."

But to returne to *Imitation* againe: there be three kindes of it in matters of learnyng.

The whole * doctrine of comedies and tragedies, is a perfite *Imitation*, or faire livelie painted picture of the life of everie degree of man. Of this *Imitation* writeth *Plato* at large, in his third booke *de Republica*; but it doth not moch belong at this time to our purpose.

The second kind of *Imitation*, is to folow, for learnyng of tonges and sciences, the best authors. Here riseth amonges proude and envious

fection. For *Antoninus* in the *Greek* tongue, and *Lucretius* and *Seneca* in the *Latin*, (authors that justly deserve our notice) are still perfect and entire. But that these sects were most remarkably careless in their stile and language, is plain enough from the constant testimony of all the ancients, who have had occasion to mention these things.

Thus *Dionysius Halicarn.* of the Stoicks, in his book *περί Συνθέσεως*, pag. 40. Ἀπόχρη δὲ τεκμηρίω χρῆσασθαι τῷ λόγῳ Χρυσίππῳ τῷ Στωϊκῷ. περαιτέρω γὰρ ἢ αὐτὸν προβαίνειν. τά τε γὰρ ὅτε ἀμεινον ὕδεις τὰς Διαλεκτικὰς τέχνας ἠκρίβωσεν, ὅτε χείρονι ἀρμονίᾳ συναχθέντας ἐξηνεγκε λόγους, τῶν ὀνόματι καὶ δόξης ἀξιώθεντων. And afterwards, in the same excellent treatise, with respect to the Epicurean tribe; Ἐπικουρείων δὲ χορὸν, οἷς ὕδεν μέλει τῶν, παραι- τήμεθα.

* Ἐποποιῖα δὲ, καὶ ἡ τῆς τραγωδίας ποιήσις, ἔτι δὲ κωμῳδία καὶ ἡ διθυραμβοποιητικὴ, καὶ τῆς αὐλητικῆς, ἡ πλείστη καὶ καθαριστικῆς, πᾶσαι τυγχάνουσιν ὕσαι μιμήσεις τὸ σύνολον. *Arist.* *περί Ποιητικῆς*, statim ab initio.

wittes a great controversie ; whether one, or many are to be folowed : and if one, who is that one ; *Seneca*, *Cicero*, *Salust*, or *Cæsar*, and so forth, in *Greeke* and *Latin*.

The third kinde of *Imitation* belongeth to the second ; as when you be determined, whether ye will folow one, or mo, to know perfitlie, and which way, to folow that one ; in what place ; by what meane and order ; by what tooles and instrumentes ye shall do it ; by what skill and judgement ye shall trewlie discerne, whether ye folow rightlie or no.

This *Imitatio* is *diffimilis materiei similis tractatio* ; and also, *similis materiei diffimilis tractatio* ; as *Virgil* folowed *Homer* : but the argument to the one was *Ulysses* ; to the other, *Æneas*. *Tullie* persecuted *Antonie* with the same wepons of eloquence, that *Demosthenes* used before against *Philippe*.

Horace foloweth *Pindar*, but either of them his owne argument and person : as the one, *Hiero* king of *Sicilie* ; the other, *Augustus* the emperor : and yet both for like respectes ; that is, for their coragious stoutnes in warre, and just government in peace.

One of the best examples for right *Imitation*, we lacke, and that is *Menander* ; whom our *Terence*, as the matter required, in like argument, in the same persons, with equal eloquence, foote by foote did folow. Some peeces remaine, * like broken jewelles, whereby men may rightlie esteeme, and justlie lament, the losse of the whole.

Erasmus, the ornament of learnyng in our tyme, doth wish that some man of learnyng and diligence, † would take the like paines in *Demosthenes* and *Tullie*, that *Macrobius* hath done in *Homer* and *Virgil* ; that

* A collection of these remains have been sometime since published, together with those of *Philemon*, by Mr. *Le Clerke*, who amidst his great learning, did not think 'em beneath his care.

† “ *Elegans interim fuerit exercitatio, quod à veteribus nonnullis factum est in Homero ac Virgilio, si quis idem faciat in Demosthene et M. Tullio, ut ex collatione locorum deprehendat, quid hic ab illo sit mutuatus, & ubi noster sit Græco par, ubi superior, ubi ab exemplari non-nihil degeneret imitatio. Vix alia res æquè conducit ad parandum iudicium.*” *Erasmus, Lib. 28. Ep. 26.*

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is, to write out and joyne together, where the one doth imitate the other. *Erasmus* wishe is good; but surelie it is not good enough. For *Macrobius* gatherings for the *Æneidos*, out of *Homer*, and *Eobanus Hes-fus* more diligent gatherings for the *Bucolikes*, out of *Theocritus*, as they be not fullie taken out of the whole heape, as they should be, but even as though they had not sought for them of purpose, but found them scattered here and there by chance in their way; even so, onelie to point out, and nakedlie to joine together their sentences, with no furdre declaring the maner and way how the one doth folow the other, were but a colde helpe to the encrease of learnyng.

But if a man would take this paines also, when he hath layd two places of *Homer* and *Virgil*, or of *Demosthenes* and *Tullie* together, to teach plainlie withall, after this sort :

1. *Tullie* reteyneth thus moch of the matter, thies sentences, thies wordes.
2. This, and that he leaveth out ; which he doth wittilie to this end and purpose.
3. This he addeth here :
4. This he diminisheth there :
5. This he ordereth thus, with placing that here, not there :
6. This he altereth and changeth, either in propertie of wordes, in forme of sentence, in substance of the matter, or in one, or other convenient circumstance of the authors present purpose.

In thies fewe rude *English* wordes, are wrapt up all the necessarie tooles and instrumentes, wherewith trewe *Imitation* is rightlie wrought withall in any tonge. Which tooles, I openlie confesse, be not of myne owne forging, but partlie left unto me by the cunningest master, and one of the worthiest jentlemen, that ever *Englande* bred, Syr *John Cheke* ; partlie borrowed by me out of the shoppe of the dearest frende I have out
of

of *Englande*, *Joh. Sturmius*. And therefore I am the bolder to borow of him, and here to leave them to others, and namelie to my children. Which tooles, if it please God, that another day they may be able to use rightlie, as I do wishe, and daylie pray they may do, I shall be more glad, than if I were able to leave them a great quantitie of land.

This forefaide order and doctrine of *Imitation*, would bring forth more learnyng, and breed up trewer judgement, than any other exercise that can be used; but not for yong beginners, bicause they shall not be able to consider dylie thereof. And trewlie it may be a shame to good studentes, who having so faire examples to folow, as *Plato* and *Tullie*, do not use so wise wayes in folowing them for the obteyning of wisdom and learnyng, as rude ignorant artificers do for gayning a small commoditie. For surelie the meanest painter useth more witte, better arte, greater diligence in his shoppe, in folowing the picture of any meane mans face, than commonlie the best students do, even in the universitie, for the atteyning of learnyng it selfe.

Some ignorant, unlearned, and idle student, or some busie looker upon this litle poore booke; that hath neither will to do good him selfe, nor skill to judge right of others, but can lustelie contemne, by pride and ignorance, all painful diligence, and right order in study; * will perchance say, that I am too precise, too curious in marking and piddling thus about the *Imitation* of others; and that the old and worthie authors did not busie their heades and wittes, in folowing so preciselie either the matter, what other men wrote, or els the maner, how other men wrote. They will say, "It were a plain slaverie, and injurie to, "to shackle and tye a good witte, and hinder the course of a mans "good nature with such bondes of servitude, in folowing others." Except such men thinke themselves wiser than *Cicero* for teaching of eloquence, they must be content to turne a new leafe.

The best booke that ever *Tullie* wrote, by all mens judgement, and

* See what *Dionysius Halic.* says on the like occasion: Ὑποβῶμαι τινα πρὸς ταῦτα καταδρομὴν ἀνθρώπων, τῆς μὲν ἐγκυκλίου παιδείας ἀπείρων, τὸ δὲ ἀγοραῖον τῆς Ῥητορικῆς μέρος ὅδῃ τε καὶ πέχυνος χωρὶς ἐπιτηδευόντων. *De Structura Orationis* pag. 240.

by his owne testimonie to, in writing whereof he employed most care, studie, learnyng, and judgement, is his booke *de Oratore ad Q. Fratrem*. Now let us see, what he did for the matter, and also for the maner of writing thereof. For the whole booke consisteth in these two pointes onelie; in good matter, and good handling of the matter. And first, for the matter; it is whole *Aristotles*, whatsoever *Antonie* in the second, and *Crassus* in the third, doth teach. Trust not me, but believe *Tullie* himselfe, who writeth so; first, in that * goodlie long epistle *ad Pub. Lentulum*; and after in diverse places *ad Atticum*. And in the verie booke itselfe, *Tullie* will not have it hidden; but both *Catulus* and *Crassus* do oft, and pleasantly lay that stelth to *Antonius* charge. Now for the handling of the matter; was *Tullie* so precise and curious, rather to follow another mans paterne, than to invent some new shape himselfe, namelie in that booke, wherein he purposed to leave to posteritie the glorie of his witte? Yea forsooth, that he did. And this is not my gessing and gathering; nor onelie performed by *Tullie* in very deed, but uttered also by *Tullie* in plaine wordes; to teach other men thereby, what they should do, in taking like matter in hand.

And that which is specially to be marked, *Tullie* doth utter plainlie his conceit and purpose therein, by the mouth of the wisest man in all that companie: for † sayth *Scævola* himselfe, *Cur non imitamur Crasse, Socratem illum, qui est in Phædro Platonis? &c.*

And further to understand, that *Tullie* did not *obiter*, and by chance, but purposedlie and mindfullie bend himselfe to a precise and curious imitation of *Plato*, concernyng the shape and forme of those bookes; marke,

* “ Quod rogas, ut mea tibi scripta mittam, quæ post discessum tuum scripserim: sunt orationes quædam, quas Menocrito dabo: neque ita multæ; ne pertimescas. Scripsi etiam (nam ab orationibus dijungo me ferè, referoque ad mansuetiores Musas: quæ me maximè, sicut jam à prima adolescentia delectarunt) scripsi igitur Aristoteleo more, quemadmodum quidem volui, tres libros in disputatione ac dialogo *de Oratore*, quos arbitror Lentulo tuo non fore inutiles. Abhorent enim à communibus præceptis: ac omnem antiquorum, & Aristoteleam, & Isocrateam rationem oratoriam complectuntur.” *Epist. Fam. Lib. I. Ep. 9.*

† “ Postero autem die, cum illi majores natu satis quiescent, & in ambulationem ventum esset; dicebat tum *Scævola* duobus spatiis tribusve factis, dixisse, *Cur non imitamur,*” &c. *De Orat. Lib. I.*

I pray you, how curious *Tullie* is to utter his purpose, and doying therein, writing ‡ thus to *Atticus* :

Quod in iis Oratoriis libris, quos laudas, personam desideras Scævolæ ; non eam temere dimovi : sed feci idem, quod in Πολιεία deus ille noster Plato. Cum in Piræeum Socrates venisset ad Cephalum, locupletem & festivum senem ; quoad primus ille sermo haberetur, adest in disputando senex : deinde cum ipse quoque commodissimè locutus esset, ad rem divinam dicit se velle discedere ; neque postea revertitur. Credo Platonem vix putasse satis consonum fore, si hominem id ætatis in tam longo sermone diutius retinisset. Multo ego satius hoc mihi cavendum putavi in Scævola : qui & ætate, & valitudine erat ea, qua esse meministi ; & iis honoribus, ut vix satis decorum videretur, eum plures dies esse in Crassi Tusculano. Et erat primi libri sermo non alienus à Scævolæ studiis : reliqui libri Τεχνολογίαν habent, ut scis. Huic joculatoriæ disputationi senem illum, ut noras, interesse sane nolui.

If *Cicero* had not opened himselfe, and declared hys owne thought and doynge herein, men that be idle, and ignorant, and envious of other mens diligence, and well doinges, would have sworne, that *Tullie* had never mynded any soch thing ; but that, of a precise curiositie, we fayne and forge, and father soch thinges of *Tullie*, as he never ment indeed. I write this not for nought : for I have heard some, both well learned, and otherwayes verie wise, that by their lustie misliking of soch diligence, have drawen back the forwardnes of verie good wittes. But even as soch men themselves do sometymes stumble upon doing well by chance, and benefite of good witte ; so would I have our scholer alwayes able to do well by order of learnyng, and right skill of judgement.

Concernyng *Imitation*, many learned men have written, with moch diversitie for the matter ; and therefore with great contrarietie, and some stomacke amongst themselves. I have read as many as I could get, diligentlie ; and what I thinke of everie one of them, I will freely say my mynde. With which freedome I trust good men will beare, because it shall tend to neither spitefull nor harmefull controversie.

‡ This citation is taken out of *Tully's* fourth book of *Epistles to Atticus*, Ep. 16.

Cicero.

In *Tullie* it is well touched, shortlie taught, * not fullie declared by *Antonius* in the second booke *de Oratore*; and afterward in *Oratore ad Brutum*, for the liking and misliking of *Isocrates*: and the contrarie judgement of *Tullie* against *Calvus*, *Brutus*, and *Calidius*, *de genere dicendi Attico & Asiatico*.

Dionysius
Halicarnass.

Dionysius Halicarnassæus περὶ Μιμήσεως, † I feare is lost; which author next *Aristotle*, *Plato*, and *Tullie*, of all others that write of eloquence, by the judgement of them that be best learned, deserveth the next prayse and place.

Quintilian.

Quintilian ‡ writeth of it shortlie, and coldlie for the matter, yet hotlie and spitefullie enough agaynst the imitation of *Tullie*.

* “Ergo hoc fit primum in præceptis meis, ut demonstramus, quem imitetur; atque ita, ut, quæ maximè excellent in eo quem imitabitur, ea diligentissimè persequatur: tum accedat exercitatio, qua illum, quem antè delegerit, imitando effingat, atque ita exprimat, non ut multos imitatores sæpe cognovi, qui aut ea, quæ facilia sunt, aut etiam illa, quæ insignia, ac pænè vitiosa, consectantur imitando.” *De Orat. lib. 2.*

“Atticos, inquit, volo imitari. quos? nec enim est unum genus. Nam quid est tam dissimile, quàm Demosthenes & Lysias? quàm idem, & Hyperides? quàm omnium horum Æschines? Quem igitur imitaris? Si aliquem, cæteri ergo Atticè non dicebant si omnes; quî potes, cùm sint ipsi dissimillimi inter se?” *Cic. de claris Orat.*

† This book of imitation *Dionysius* divided into three parts: the first contained the whole question concerning imitation; the second, what authors in poetry, philosophy, history, and oratory, were to be imitated; the third, how this imitation was to be performed: which last book, he tells us, he had not finished at the time he gives us this account of it.

Dionysius's words are these, though corrupt enough, in his epistle to *Cn. Pompey*, p. 206. of the learned Dr. *Hudson's* edition. I shall cite them as I think they ought to be read. Πρωτόν δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Δημήτριον ὑπομνηματισμοῖς περὶ Μιμήσεως. Τῶν δὲ μὲν πρώτων, αὐτὴν περιέλαβε τὴν περὶ τῆς μιμήσεως ζήτησιν· ὁ δὲ δεύτερος, περὶ τῶν, τίνες ἀνδρες μιμεῖσθαι δεῖ, ποιητὰς τε καὶ φιλοσόφους, ἱστοριογράφους καὶ ῥήτορας ὁ δὲ τρίτος, περὶ τῶν, πῶς δεῖ μιμεῖσθαι. ἐπὶ δὲ ὅτ' ἀτελής.

‡ “Ante omnia igitur imitatio per se ipsa non sufficit; vel quia pigri est ingenii, contentum esse iis, quæ sunt ab aliis inventa. Quid enim futurum erat temporibus illis, quæ sine exemplo fuerunt, si homines nihil nisi quod jam cognovissent, faciendum sibi aut cogitandum putassent? nempe nihil fuisset inventum ————

“Itaque ne hoc quidem suaferim, uni se alicui propriè, quem per omnia sequatur, addicere. Longè perfectissimus Græcorum Demosthenes, aliquid tamen aliquo in loco melius alii. Plurima ille: sed non qui maximè imitandus, etiam solus imitandus est. Quid ergo? non est satis omnia sic dicere, quomodo Marcus Tullius dixit? mihi quidem satis esset, si omnia consequi possem. Quid tamen nocet, vim Cæsaris, asperitatem Cælii, diligentiam Pollionis, iudicium Calvi, quibusdam in locis assumere?” *Quint. de Inst. Orat. lib. 10.*

Erasmus, beyng more occupied in spying other mens faultes, than declaryng his owne advise, is mistaken of many, to the great hurt of studie for his authoritie sake. For he writeth rightlie, rightlie understood; * he and *Longolius* onelie differing in this, that the one seemeth to give overmoch, the other over litle, to him, whom they both best loved, and chiefly allowed of all others. Erasmus.

Budæus in his commentaries roughlie and obscurelie, after his kinde of writyng: and for the matter, caryed somewhat out of the way in overmuch misliking the imitation of *Tullie*. Budæus.

Philip Melancthon, learnedlie and trewlie. Phil. Melancthon.

Joach. Camerarius largely with a learned judgement, but somewhat confusedly, and with over rough a stile. Joa. Camer.

Sambucus largely, † with a right judgement, but somewhat a crooked stile. Sambucus.

* *Erasmus* in his epistles frequently mentions *Longolius*, who was a *Hollander* by birth, and one who in his writings applied himself with utmost care and industry, to the imitation of *Tully*. "Quid hic commemorem Longolium, qui totus in hoc incubuit, ut Ciceronem ex- primeret; nec infelicitè cessit conatus?" *Lib. 27. ep. 38.* He died at *Padua* about the age of thirty.

Of the difference that happened betwixt himself and *Longolius*, *Erasmus* gives us some account in his letter to *Alciatus*, *lib. 21. ep. 38.* wherein he has this severe remark upon those slavish imitators, the *Ciceronianists* of that age.

"Exorta est nova secta *Ciceronianorum* quæ mihi videtur non minus fervere istic, quam apud nos *Lutheranorum*. Posthac non licebit *Episcopos* appellare *Patres reverendos*, nec in calce *literarum* scribere *annum a Christo nato*, quod id nusquam faciat *Cicero*. Quid autem ineptius, quam toto seculo novato, religione, imperiis, magistratibus, locorum vocabulis, ædificiis, cultu, moribus, non aliter audere loqui, quam locutus est *Cicero*? Si reviviscerit ipse *Cicero*, rideret hoc *Ciceronianorum* genus."

And in his letter to *Franciscus Vergera*, he thus expresses himself: "Hæc, mi *Francisce*, non eo spectant, ut alius sit magis proponendus eloquentiæ candidatis, quam *Cicero*; sed istos ut rideam fimios, quibus nihil pulchrum, nisi quod *Ciceronem* refert; quum nulla fuerit unquam forma tam felix, in qua nihil desideres. Ut formæ pictor, ita dictionis rhetor, absolutum exemplum à multis petat oportet."

† "Sambucus tres dialogos conscripsit de Imitatione à *Cicerone* petenda." Concerning *Cortesijs*, see the eighth book of *Politian's* epistles.

R. r

Others

Cortefius.
P. Bembus.
Joan. Stur-
mius.

Others have written also, as *Cortefius* to *Politian*, and that verie well: *Bembus ad Picum*, a great deale better; but *Joan. Sturmius*, *de Nobilitate literata*, & *de Amissa dicendi ratione*, farre best of all, in myne opinion, that ever tooke this matter in hand. For all the rest declare chieflie this point, whether one, or many, or all, are to be followed: but *Sturmius* onelie hath most learnedlie declared, "Who is to be followed; what is to be followed; and the best point of all, by what way and order trew *Imitation* is rightlie to be exercised." And although *Sturmius* herein doth farre passe all other; yet hath he not so fullie and perfittlie done it, as I do wishe he had, and as I know he could. For though he hath done it perfittlie for precept, yet he hath not done it perfittlie enough for example. Which he did, neither for lacke of skill, nor by negligence, but of purpose, contented with one or two examples; because he was mynded in those two bookes, to write of it both shortlie, and also had to touch other matters.

Barthol. Riccius Ferrariensis also * hath written learnedlie, diligentlie, and verie largelie of this matter; even as he did before very well, *de Apparatu Latine Locutionis*. He writeth the better in myne opinion, because his whole doctrine, judgement, and order, semeth to be borrowed out of *Joan. Sturmius* bookes. He addeth also examples, the best kinde of teaching; wherein he doth well, but not well enough: indeede he committeth no fault, but yet deserveth small praise. He is content with the meane, and followeth not the best: as a man, that would feede † upon acornes, when he may eate, as good cheape, the finest wheat bread.

He teacheth for example, where, and how, two or three late *Italian* poetes do follow *Virgil*; and how *Virgil* himselve in the storie of *Dido*, doth whollie imitate *Catullus* in the like matter of *Ariadne*. Wherein I like better his diligence, and order of teaching, than his judgement in choice of examples for *Imitation*. But if he had done thus; if he had

* This work *Riccius* published under this title, *De Imitatione Libri tres*.

† The same proverbial expreffion we meet with a little after in this book. The commentators seem very fond of it: "Post fruges inventas vesci glandibus: ἀνδρες βαλανηφάγον." "Et cum siligineus domi sit panis, emendicato furfure magis vescimur." Ang. Politianus.

declared, where, and how; how oft, and how many wayes, *Virgil* doth folow *Homer*; as for example, the coming of *Ulysses* to *Alcynous*, and *Calypso*, with the coming of *Æneas* to *Carthage*, and *Dido*: likewise the games, running, wrestling, and shooting, that *Achilles* maketh in *Homer*, with the selfe same games that *Æneas* maketh in *Virgil*: the harnessse of *Achilles*, with the harnessse of *Æneas*; and the manner of making them both by *Vulcane*: the notable combate betwixt *Achilles* and *Hector*, with as notable a combate betwixt *Æneas* and *Turnus*: the going downe to hell of *Ulysses* in *Homer*, with the going downe to hell of *Æneas* in *Virgil*; and other places infinite mo, as similitudes, narrations, messages, descriptions of persones, places, battles, tempests, ship wrackes, and common places for divers purposes; which be as precisely taken out of *Homer*, as ever did painter in *London* follow the picture of any faire personage. And when thies places had been gathered together by this way of diligence, then to have conferred them together by this order of teaching; "as diligently to marke what is kept and used in either author, in wordes, in sentences, in matter; what is added; what is left out; what ordered otherwise, either *præponendo*, *interponendo*, or *postponendo*; and what is altered for any respect, in worde, phrase, sentence, figure, reason, argument, or by any way of circumstance." If *Riccius* had done this, he had not onlie bene well liked for his diligence in teaching, but also iustlie commended for his right judgement in right choice of examples for the best *Imitation*.

Riccius also for *Imitation* of prose declareth, where, and how, *Longolius* doth folow *Tullie*: but as for *Longolius*, I would not have him the patern of our *Imitation*. Indeede in *Longolius* shoppe, be proper and faire shewing colors; but as for shape, figure, and naturall comliness, by the judgement of best judging artificers, he is rather allowed as one to be borne withall, than speciallie commended, as one chieflie to be folowed.

If *Riccius* had taken for his examples, where *Tullie* himselfe foloweth either *Plato* or *Demosthenes*, he had shot then at the right marke. But to excuse *Riccius* somewhat, though I cannot fullie defend him, it may be sayd, his purpose was, to teach onelie the *Latin* tonge; when thys way that I do wishe, to joyne *Virgil* with *Homer*, to read *Tullie* with *Demost-*

benes and *Plato*, requireth a cunning and perfite master in both the tonges. It is my wishe indeede, and that by good reason: for who-soever will write well of any matter, must labor to expresse that, that is perfite; and not to stay and content himselfe with the meane: yea, I say farder, though it be not unpossible, yet it is verie rare, and marvelous hard, to prove excellent in the *Latin* tonge, for him that is not also well seene in the *Greeke* tonge. *Tullie* himselfe, most excellent of nature, most diligent in labor, brought up from his cradle in that place, and in that tyme, where and when the *Latin* tonge most flourished naturallie in every mans mouth; yet was not his owne tonge able itselfe to make him so cunning in his owne tonge, as he was indeede; but the knowledge, and *Imitation* of the *Greeke* tonge withall. This he confesseth himselfe; this he uttereth in many places, as those can tell best, that use to read him most.

Therefore thou, that shooteest at perfection in the *Latin* tonge, thinke not thy selfe wiser than *Tullie* was, in choice of the way that leadeth rightlie to the same: thinke not thy witte better than *Tullies* was, as though that may serve thee, that was not sufficient for him. For even as a hauke flieth not hie with one wing, even so a man reacheth not to excellency with one tonge.

I have bene a looker on in the cockpit of learnyng thies many yeares; and one cock onelie have I knowne, which with one wing, even at this day, doth passe all other, in myne opinion, that ever I saw in any pitte in *Englande*, though they had two winges. Yet neverthelesse, to flie well with one wing, * to runne fast with one leg, be rather rare masteries moch to be marvelled at, than sure examples safelie to be followed. A bushop that now liveth, a good man, whose judgement in religion I better like, than his opinion in perfitness in other learnyng, said once unto me; "We have no nede now of the *Greeke* tonge, when "all thinges be translated into *Latin*." But the good man understood not, that even the best translation, is for mere necessitie but an evill impeded wing to flie withall, or a heavie stompe leg of wood to go with-

* *Habeas licebit alterum pedem Ladæ,
Inepte, frustra crure ligneo curre.*

Martial, lib. x. epigr. 82.

all. Such, the hier they flie, the sooner they falter and fail: the faster they runne, the ofter they stumble, and forer they fall. Soch as will nedes so flie, may flie at a pye, and catch a dawe: and soch runners, as commonlie they, shove, and sholder, to stand formost, yet in the end they come behind others, and deserve but the hopshakles, if the masters of the game be right judgers.

Therefore in perusing thus so many diverse bookes for *Imitation*, it came into my head, that a verie profitable booke might be made *de Imitatione*, after another sort, than ever yet was attempted of that matter, conteyning a certeyne fewe fitte preceptes, unto which should be gathered and applied plentie of examples, out of the choicest authors of both the tonges. This worke would stand rather in good diligence for the gathering, and right judgement for the apte applying of those examples, than any great learnyng, or utterance at all.

The doing thereof would be more pleasant than painfull, and would bring also moch proffet to all that shold read it, and great praise to him that would take it in hand, with just desert of thanks.

Erasmus, giving himselfe * to read over all authors *Greke* and *Latin*, seemeth to have prescribed to himselfe this order of reading; that is, to note out by the way three special pointes, all adagies, all similitudes, and all wittie sayinges of most notable personages. And so, by one labor, he left to posteritie three notable bookes, and namelie two, his *Cbiliades*, *Apophthegmata*, and *Similia*. Likewise, if a good student would bend himselfe to read diligentlie over *Tullie*, and with him also at the same tyme, as diligentlie *Plato*, and *Xenophon*, with his bookes of philosophie; *Isocrates*, and *Demosthenes* with his orations, and *Aristotle* with his Rhetorickes, (which five of all others, be those whom *Tullie* best loved, and specially followed) and would marke diligentlie in *Tullie*, where he doth *exprimere*, or *effingere* (which be the verie proper wordes of *Imitation*) either *copiam Platonis*, or *venustatem Xenophontis*, *suavitatem Isocratis*, or *vim Demosthenis*, *propriam* & *puram subtilitatem Aristote-*

Optima ratio imitationis.

Erasmus order in his studie.

Cicero.
Plato.
Xenophon.
Isocrates.
Demosthenes.
Aristotle.

* "Ille (*Erasmus*) genus omne perlustrans autorum, Adagia vetera, poene tot ænigmatum speciem reddentia, et graves lectoribus offundentia tenebras, industriâ mirificâ, velut alter *Oedipus*, studiosis enarravit." *Tenstalli epistola ad Budæum*.

lis; and not onelie write out the places diligentlie, and lay them together orderlie, but also conferre them with skilfull judgement by those few rules, which I have expresse now twice before: if that diligence were taken, if that order were used, what perfite knowledge of both the tonges, what readie and pithie utterance in all matters, what right and deepe judgement in all kinde of learnyng would follow, is scarce credible to be believed.

These bookes be not many, nor long, nor rude in speech, nor meane in matter; but next the majestie of Gods holie word, most worthie for a man, the lover of learnyng and honestie, to spend his life in. Yea, I have heard worthie M. *Cbeke* many times say; "I would have a good student passe and jorney through all authors both *Greke* and *Latin*." But he that will dwell in these few bookes onelie; first, in Gods Holie Bible, and then join with it *Tullie* in *Latin*, *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Xenophon*, *Isocrates*, and *Demosthenes*, in *Greke*, must nedes prove an excellent man.

Perionius.
H. Steph.
P. Victorius. Some men already in our dayes, have put to their helping handes to this worke of *Imitation*; as *Perionius*, *Hen. Stephanus* in *dictionario Ciceroniano*, and *Pet. Victorius* most praise worthie of all, in that his learned worke conteynyng twentie five bookes *de Varia Lectione*; in which bookes be joyned diligentlie together, the best authors of both the tonges, where one doth seeme to imitate another.

But all these, with *Macrobius*, *Hessius*, and other, be no more but common porters, caryers, and bringers of matter and stuffe together. They order nothing; they lay before you what is done; they do not teach you how it is done. They busie not themselves with forme of building; they do not declare this stuffe is thus framed by *Demosthenes*, and thus and thus by *Tullie*; and so likewise in *Xenophon*, *Plato*, and *Isocrates*, and *Aristotle*. For joyning *Virgil* with *Homer*, I have sufficientlie declared before.

Pindar.
Horace. The like diligence I would wishe to be taken in *Pindar* and *Horace*, an equal match for all respectes.

In

In tragedies, (the goodliest argumente of all, and for the use either of a learned preacher, or a civill gentleman, * more profitable than *Homer, Pindar, Virgil* and *Horace*; yea comparable in myne opinion, with the doctrine of *Aristotle, Plato, and Xenophon*) the *Grecians, Sophocles* and *Euripides*, far over match our *Seneca* in *Latin*, namely in *Oikonomia* & *Decoro*: although *Senecas* elocution and verse be verie commendable † for his tyme. And for the matters of *Hercules, Thebais, Hippolytus*, and *Troas*, his imitation is to be gathered into the same booke, and to be tryed by the same touchstone, as is spoken before.

Sophocles.
Euripides.
Seneca.

In histories, and namelie in *Livie*, the like diligence of imitation, could bring excellent learnyng, and breede stayde judgement in taking any like matter in hand.

Onely *Livie* were a sufficient taske for one mans studie, to compare him, first with his fellow for all respectes, *Dionysius Halicarnassæus*; who both lived in one tyme, took both one historie in hand to write, deserved both like prayse of learnyng and eloquence: then with *Polybius*, that wise writer, whom *Livie* professeth to folow; and if he would denie it, yet it is plaine, that the best part of the third decade in *Livie*, is in a manner translated out of the thyrd, and rest of *Polybius*: lastlie with *Thucydides*, to whose imitation *Livie* is curiously bent; as may well appeare by that one oration of those of *Campania*, asking aide of

Tit. Liv.
Dionys. Halicarn.

Polybius.

Thucydides.
1 Decad.
lib. 7.

* Our author seems to have borrow'd this observation from *Melancthon*. See his admirable epistle *de legendis Tragædiis et comædiis*; lib. 1^{mo} epist.

“ Hanc sententiam tragædiæ volunt omnium animis infigere, esse aliquam mentem æternam, quæ semper atrocia scelera insignibus exemplis punit, moderatis verò et justis plerumque dat tranquilliorē cursum.”

“ Quare tragædiarum lectionem valde utilem adolescentibus esse non dubium est, cum ad commonefaciendos animos de multis vitæ officiis, et de frænandis immoderatis cupiditatibus, tum verò etiam ad eloquentiam.”

† There are many conjectures made by learned men, concerning the time when these tragedies were writ, and who their author was. Mr. *Ascham*, by this expression, seems to bring them lower than most do. We have *Erasmus's* opinion in these words. “ Tacitus commemorat illius (*Senecæ*) poemata, de quibus sententiis, incertum. Nam tragædiarum opus eruditi quidam malunt *Senecæ* filio tribuere, quam huic: sunt, qui fratri *Senecæ* adscribant. Ex prima tragædia versus aliquot refert, *Duc me parens, summiq; dominator poli,* &c. Quamquam mihi videtur opus hoc tragædiarum non esse unius hominis.” Lib. 28. ep. 12.

the

Thucyd.
lib. 1.

the *Romanes* against the *Samnites*; * which is wholie taken, sentence, reason, argument, and order, out of the oration of *Corcyra*, asking like aide of the *Athenienses* against them of *Corinth*. If some diligent student would take paynes to compare them together, he should easilie perceive, that I do say trew.

A booke thus wholie filled with examples of imitation, first out of *Tullie*, compared with *Plato*, *Xenophon*, *Isocrates*, *Demosthenes*, and *Aristotle*; then out of *Virgil* and *Horace*, with *Homer* and *Pindar*; next out of *Seneca*, with *Sophocles* and *Euripides*; lastlie out of *Livie*, with *Thucydides*, *Polybius*, and *Halicarnassæus*, gathered with good diligence, and compared with right order, as I have exprest before, were another maner of worke for all kinde of learnyng; and namelie for eloquence, than be those cold gatherings of *Macrobius*, *Hessus*, *Pieronius*, *Stephanus*, and *Victorius*; which may be used (as I sayd before) in this case, as porters and caryers, deserving like prayse, as soch men do wages; but onely *Sturmius* is he, out of whom the trew survey, and whole workmanship, is speciallie to be learned.

Opus de rec-
ta imitandi
ratione.

I trust, this my writing shall give some good student occasion to take † some piece in hand of this worke of imitation. And as I had rather have any do it, than myselfe, yet surelie myselfe rather than none at all. And by Gods grace, if God do lend me life, with health, free leysure and libertie, with good liking, and a merrie hart, I will turne the best part of my studie and tyme, to toyle in one or other piece of this worke of imitation.

This diligence to gather examples, to give light and understanding to good precepts, is no new invention, but speciallie used of the best

* “Petitio Campanorum expressa est ex lib. 1. Thucydidis, quo in loco Corcyraei auxilium ab Atheniensibus petunt. Quod quisque intelliget, qui utrasque orationes comparabit.” *Sigonius*.

† Something of this nature has since been done by *Jacobus Tollius*, in his *Gustus Criticarum Animadversionum ad Longinum*: where he has with good judgment compared *Pindar* with *Horace*, *Theocritus* with *Virgil*, and *Apollonius* with *Ovid*; and some few more beside. But had Mr. *Ascham* liv’d, we should certainly have seen a far more excellent performance on the subject.

authors

authors and oldest writers. For *Aristotle* himselfe, as *Diogenes Laertius* declareth, when he had written that goodlie booke of the *Topickes*, did gather out of historians and orators, so many examples as filled fiftene bookes, onelie to expresse the rules of his *Topickes*. These were the commentaries that *Aristotle* thought fit for his *Topickes*. And therefore, to speake as I thinke, I never saw yet any commentarie upon *Aristotles* logicke, either in *Greke* or *Latin*, that ever I lyked; bicause they be rather spent in declaring schole poynt rules, than in gathering fitte examples for use and utterance, either by pen or talke. For precepts in all authors, and namelie in *Aristotle*, without applying unto them the imitation of examples, be hard, drie, and cold, and therefore barrayn, unfruitfull, and unpleasant. But *Aristotle*, namelie in his *Topickes*, and *Elenches*, should be, not onelie fruitfull, but also pleasant to, if examples out of *Plato*, and other good authors, were diligentlie gathered, and aptlie applied unto his most perfit preceptes there.

Aristoteles.

Commentarii Græci, & Latini in dialect. Aristotelis.

And it is notable, that my friende *Sturmius* writeth herein, that there is no precepte in *Aristotles Topickes*, whereof plentie of examples be not manifest in *Platos* workes. And I heare say, that an excellent learned man, *Tomitanus* in *Italie*, hath expressed everie fallacion in *Aristotle*, with diverse examples out of *Plato*. Would to God, I might once see some worthie student of *Aristotle* and *Plato*, in *Cambridge*, that would joyne in one booke, the preceptes of the one, with the examples of the other. For such a labor were one speciall peece of that worke of imitation, which I do wishe were gathered together in one volume.

Præcepta in Aristotele: exempla in Platone.

Cambridge, at my first comming thither, but not at my going away, committed this faulte in reading the preceptes of *Aristotle* without the examples of other authors. But herein, in my tyme, * thies men of wor-
thie

* "Eo tempore Cantabrigiam venit, quo literæ & Græcæ, & Latinæ efflorescere, & præ-
" clara studia in ea academia herbescere, & ad summum hujus regni ornamentum maturefcere
" cœperunt. Ea ætate postea floruit, quâ Georgius Dajus, Joan. Redmannus, Rob. Pemberus,
" Tho. Smithus, Joan. Checus, Nic. Ridlæus, Edm. Grindallus, Tho. Watsonus, Gualterus Had-
" donus, Jacob. Pilkintonus, R. Hornus, Jean. Christophersonus, Tho. Wilsonus, Joan. Setonus,
" & infiniti alii excellenti doctrina præditi, & perspecta vitæ morumque probitate ornati,
" magna academici eo tempore lumina, maxima postea totius reipublicæ ornamenta, vigue-
" runt.

S f

" Hi

thie memorie, M. Redman, M. Cbeke, M. Smith, M. Haddon, M. Watson, put so to their helping handes, as that universitie, and all students there, as long as learnyng shall last, shall be bound unto them; if that trade in studie be trewlie folowed, which those men left behind them there.

By this small mention of *Cambridge*, I am caryed into three imaginations: first, into a sweete remembrance of my tyme spent there; then, into some carefull thoughts for the grevous alteration that folowed sone after; lastlie, into much joy, to heare tell of the good recoverie, and earnest forwardnes in all good learnyng there agayne.

To utter theis my thoughts somwhat more largelie, were somwhat beside my matter, yet not very farre out of the way; because it shall wholly tend to the good encoragement and right consideration of learnyng, which is my full purpose in writyng this little booke: whereby also shall well appeare this sentence to be most trewe, "That onelie good men, by their government and example, make happy tymes in everie degree and state."

Dr. Nicolas
Medcalfe.

Dr. *Nicolas Medcalfe*, that honorable father, was master of *S. Johnes* colledge when I came thither; a man meanelie learned himselfe, but not meanely affectioned to set forward learnyng in others. He found that colledge spending scarce two hundred markes by the yeare: he left it spending a thousand markes, and more. Which he procured, not with his money, but by his wisdome; not chargeable bought by him, but liberallie given by others by his meane, for the zeal and honor they bore to learnyng. And that which is worthy of memorie, all theis givers were almost northern men; who, being liberallie rewarded in the service of their prince, bestowed it as liberallie for the good of their contrie. Some men thought therefore, that Dr. *Medcalfe* was partial to northern men: but sure I am of this, that northern men were partial in

The partialitie
of
northern

"Hi enim, & ex his præcipuè *Tho. Smithus*, academæ splendor, & *Joan. Checus*, Cantabrigiæ decus, sua exemplo, eruditione, diligentia, constantia, consilio, non studendi solum, sed rectè vivendi ordine, ad præclara studia omnes adduxerunt, & concitarunt, qui ab eo tempore ad hunc usque diem in Cantabrigia succreverunt, & ad eminentem aliquam doctrinam surrexerunt." *Edw. Grant.*

I

doing

doing more good, and giving more landes to the forderance of learn- men in St.
yng, than any other contriemen, in those daies, did: which deede ^{Johnes col-}
should have been rather an example of goodnes for others to followe, ^{ledge.}
than matter of malice for anie to envie, as some there were that did.

Trewly, Dr. *Medcalfe* was partiall to none, but indifferent to all; a master for the whole, a father to everie one in that colledge. There was none so poore, if he had either will to goodnes, or wit to learnyng, that could lack being there, or should depart from thence for any need. I am witnes myselfe, that mony many times was brought into yong mens studies by strangers whom they knew not. In which doing, this worthy *Nicolaus* folowed the steppes * of good olde S. *Nicolaus*, that learned bishop. He was a Papisste indeede; but would to God, amonge all us Protestants I might once see but one, that would winne like praise, in doing like good, for the advancement of learnyng and vertue. And yet, though he were a Papist, if any yong man, geven to new learnyng, (as they termed it) went beyond his fellowes, in witte, labour, and towardnes; even the same neither lacked open praise to encourage him, nor private exhibition to mainteyne him; as worthy Sir *J. Cheke*, if he were alive, would beare good witness, and so can many mo. I myselfe, one of the meanest of a great number in that colledge, because there appeared in me some small shew of towardnes and diligence, lacked not his favor to forder me in learnyng.

And being a boy, new batchelor of artes, I chanced amonges my companions to speake against the Pope; which matter was then in every mans mouth, bycause Dr. *Haines* and Dr. *Skippe* were come from the court, to debate the same matter by preaching, and disputation in the universitie. This hapened the same time when I stode to be fellow there. My taulke came to Dr. *Medcalfes* eare: I was called before him and the seniores; and after greivous rebuke, and some punishment, open warning was given to all the felowes, none to be so hardie as to give me his voice at that election. And yet, for all those open threats, the good father himselfe privilie procured, that I should even then be chosen fellow; but the election being done, he made counti-

* See his life wrote by *Platina*, who stiles him, in *omni genere virtutis unici viri exemplar*.

nance of great discontentation thereat. This good mans goodness, and fatherlie discretion, used towards me that one day, shall never out of my remembrance all the dayes of my life. And for the same cause have I put it here, in this small record of learnyng. For next Gods providence, surely that day was, by that good fathers meanes, *dies natalis* to me, for the whole foundation of the poore learnyng I have, and of all the furdurance that hitherto elsewhere I have obteyned.

This his goodnes stood not still in one or two, but flowed abundantlie over all that colledge, and brake out also to norishe good wittes in every part of that universitie: whereby, at his departing thence, he left soch a companie of felowes and scholers in St. *Johnes* colledge, as can scarce be found now in some whole universitie; which, either for divinitie, on the one side or other, or for civill service to their prince and contrie, have bene, and are yet to this day, notable ornaments to this whole realme. Yea St. *Johnes* did then so flourish, as *Trinitie* colledge, that princely house now, at the first erection, was but *colonia deducta* out of St. *Johnes*, not onelie for their master, fellowes, and scholers, but also, which is more, for their whole both order of learnyng, and discipline of manners. And yet to this day, it never tooke master but soch as was bred up before in St. *Johnes*; doing the dewtie of a good *colonia* to her *metropolis*; as the auncient cities in *Greece*, and some yet in *Italie* at this day, are accustomed to do.

Aper de Syl-
va.
Pfal. lxxx.
13.

S. *Johnes* stooode in this state, untill those hevie tymes, and that greivous change, * that chanced *anno* 1553; when mo perfite scholers were disperfed from thence in one month, than many yeares can reare up againe. For when *Aper de Sylva* had passed the seas, and fastened his foote againe in *Englande*, not onelie the two faire groves of learnyng in *Englande* were eyther cut up by the roote, or troden downe to the ground, and wholie went to wracke; but the yong spring there, and everie where else, was pitifullie nipt and over-troden by very beastes; and also the fairest standers of all were rooted up, and cast into the fire,

* "Anno 1553, & Julii 6to, nobilissimus princeps, *Edvardus Sextus*, immatura morte, "ad hujus regni maximum detrimentum, ad piorum omnium ingentem dolorem, ad omnium Anglorum immensum malum, & *Rogeri Aschami* magnam calamitatem diem obiit." *Edu. Grant.*

to the great weakning even at this day of Christes church in *Englande*, both for religion and learnyng.

And what good could chance then to the universities, when some of the greatest, though not of the wisest, nor best learned, nor best men neyther of that side, did labor to persuade, † “that ignorance was “better than knowledge?” which they ment, not for the laitie onelie, but also for the greatest rable of their spiritualtie, what other pretense openlie soever they made. And therefore did some of them at *Cambridge* (whom I will not name openlie) cause hedge priestes fette out of the contrie, to be made fellowes in the universitie; saying in their talke privilie, and declaring by their deedes openlie, “that he was felow “good enough for their tyme, if he could weare a gowne and a tipet “comlie, and have hys crowne shorne faire and roundlie; and could “turne his portesse and * pie readilie.” Which I speake, not to reprove any order either of apparell, or other dewtie, that may be well and indifferentlie used; but to note the miserie of that time, when the benefites provided for learnyng were so fowlie misused.

And what was the fruite of this seade? Verely, judgement in doctrine was wholly altered; order in discipline very fore changed; the love of good learnyng began sodenly to wax cold; the knowledge of the tonges (in spite of some that therein had florished) was manifestly contemned: and so, the way of right study purposely perverted; the choice of good authors, of malice confounded; olde sophistrie, I say not well, not olde, but that new rotten sophistrie, began to beard, and sholder logicke in her owne tonge: yea, I know that heades were cast together, and counsell devised, that *Duns*, with all the rable of barbarous questionistes, should have dispossessed of their place and rowme, *Aristotle*, *Plato*, *Tullie*, and *Demosthenes*; when good M. *Redman*, and those two worthy starres of that universitie, M. *Cheke* and M. *Smith*, with their

Aristotle,
Plato, Cice-
ro, Demost-
henes.

† See this sentence taken out of St. *Chrysostome*, cited before.

* Some form the word *pie* from *πίναξ*, or *πίνακίδιον*, a table of order, how things should be digested; but the *Latin* is *pica*, from a mark, I suppose, not unlike the *coronis*, often placed in the end of books, and sometimes elsewhere. Others derive it from *litera picata*, a great black letter, at the beginning of some new order. The printers have still in use the *Pica letter*.

scholars,

Shootinge.

scholars, had brought to florish as notably in *Cambridge*, as ever they did in *Grece* and in *Italie*; and for the doctrine of those fowre, the fowre pillars of learning, *Cambridge* then giving no place to no universitie, neither in *France*, *Spaine*, *Germanie*, nor *Italie*. Also, in outward behavior, then began simplicity in apparell to be laid aside, courtlie galantnes to be taken up; frugalitie in diet was privatelie misliked, towne-going to good cheare openly used; honest pastimes, joyned with labor, left off in the fieldes; unthrifitie and idle games, haunted corners, and occupied the nightes: contention in youth no where for learning; factions in the elders every where for trifles.

All which miseries at length, by Gods providence, had their end * 16th *Novemb.* 1558. Since which tyme, the yong spring hath shot up so faire, as now there be in *Cambridge* againe many goodly plantes, (as did well appeare at the Queenes Majesties late being there) which are like to grow to mightie great timber, to the honor of learning, and great good of their countrie; if they may stand their tyme, as the best plantes there were wont to do; and if some old dotterell trees, with standing over nie them, and dropping upon them, do not either hinder, or crooke their growing: wherein my feare is the lesse, seeing † so worthie a justice of an oyre hath the present oversight of that whole chace: who was himselfe somtyme in the fairest spring that ever was there of learning, one of the forwardest yong plantes in all that worthy college of *S. Iohnes*: who now by grace is growne to soch greatnesse, as, in the temperate and quiet shade of his wisdom, (next the providence of God, and goodnes of one) in thies our daies, *religio* for sinceritie, *literæ* for order and advancement, *respub.* for happie and quiet government, have, to the great rejoyfing of all good men, speciallie reposed themselves.

Now to return to that question, "Whether one, a few, many, or all, are to be folowed?" My aunswere shall be short: All, for him that is desirous to know all; yea, the worst of all, as questionistes,

* The day of Queen *Elisabeth's* happy accession to the throne; tho' our historians fix it on the seventeenth.

† Sir *William Cecil*, principal secretary of state, and chancellor of the university of *Cambridge*.

and

and all the barbarous nation of schole-men, helpe for one or other consideration. But in everie separate kinde of learnyng, and studie by itself, ye must folow chofelie a few, and chiefly some one, and that namelie in our schole of eloquence, either for penne or talke. And as in portraiture, and paintyng, wise men chose not that workman, that can onelie † make a faire hand, or a well facioned legge; but soch a one, as can furnish up fullie all the fetures of the whole body of a man, woman, and child; and withall is able to, by good skill, to give to every one of these three, in their proper kinde, the right forme, the trewe figure, the naturall color, that is fit and due to the dignity of a man, to the bewtie of a woman, to the sweetnes of a yong babe: even likewise do we seeke soch an one in our schole to folow; who is able alwayes, in all matters, to teache plainlie, to delite pleasantlie, and to cary away by force of wise talke, all that shall heare or read him; and is so excellent in deed, as witte is able, or wishe can hope, to attayne unto: and this not onelie to serve in the *Latin* or *Greke* tonge, but also in our own *Englishe* language. But yet, because the providence of God hath left unto us in no other tonge, save onelie in the *Greke* and *Latin* tonge, the trew precepts, and perfite examples of eloquence; therefore must we seeke in the authors onelie of those two tonges, the trewe paterne of eloquence, if in any other mother tonge we looke to attaine, either to perfite utterance of it ourselves, or skilfull judgement of it in others.

And now to know, what author doth meddle onlie with some one piece and member of eloquence, and who doth perfitle make up the whole bodie, I will declare; as I can call to remembrance the goodlie talke that I have had oftentimes of the trewe difference of authors, with that gentleman of worthie memorie, my dearest friend, and teacher of all the little poor learnyng I have, Syr *John Cheke*.

The trew difference of authors is best knowne, *per diversa genera dicendi*, that everie one used: and therefore here I will divide *genus*

† *Æmilium circa ludum faber imus, & ungues
Exprimet, et molles imitabitur ære capillos;
Infelix operis summa: quia ponere totum
Nesciet.* Horace de Arte Poetica:

dicendi,

THE WORKS OF

dicendi, not into these three, *Tenue*, *mediocre*, & *grande*, but as the matter of everie author requireth; as,

In genus { *Poeticum*,
 Historicum,
 Philosophicum,
 Oratorium.

These differre one from another in choice of wordes, in framynge of sentences, in handling of argumentes, and use of right forme, figure, and number, proper and fitte for everie matter: and everie one of these is diverse also in itselfe; as first,

Poeticum, in { *Comicum*,
 Tragicum,
 Epicum,
 Melicum.

And here, who soever hath bene diligent to read advisedlie over *Terence*, *Seneca*, *Virgil*, *Horace*, or els *Aristophanus*, *Sophocles*, *Homer*, and *Pindar*; and shall diligentlie marke the difference they use, in proprietie of wordes, in forme of sentence, in handlyng of their matter; he shall easelie perceive what is fitte and *decorum* in everie one, to the trew use of perfite imitation.

When M. *Watson* in St. *Jobns* college at *Cambridge*, wrote his excellent tragedie of *Absalon*; M. *Cheke*, he, and I, for that part of trew imitation, had many pleasant talkes together, in comparing the preceptes of *Aristotle*, and *Horace de Arte Poetica*, with the examples of *Euripides*, *Sophocles*, and *Seneca*. Few men, in wrytyng of tragedies in our dayes, have shot at this marke. Some in *Englande*, moe in *France*, *Germanie*, and *Italie* also, have written tragedies in our tyme: of which, not one, I am sure, is able to abyde the trew touch of *Aristotles* preceptes, and *Euripides* examples, save onely two, that ever I saw, M. *Watsons Absalon*, and *Georgius Buchananus Jephthe*.

One

One man in *Cambridge*, * well liked of many, but best liked of himselfe, was many tymes bold and busie to bryng matters upon stages, which he called tragedies. In one, whereby he looked to wynne his spurres, and whereat many ignorant felowes fast clapped their handes, † he began the *Protafis* with *Trochæis octonariis*: which kinde of verse, as it is but seldome and rare in tragedies, so is it never used, save onelie in *Epitafi*; when the tragedie is hiest and hottest, and full of greatest troubles. I remember full well what M. *Watson* merelie sayd unto me of his blindenesse and boldnes in that behalfe; although otherwise there passed much frendship between them. M. *Watson* had another maner of care of perfection, with a feare and reverence of the judgement of the best learned; who to this day would never suffer yet his *Abfalon* to go abroad, and that onelie ‡ bicause in *locis paribus Anapæstus* is twise or thrise used instead of *Iambus*. A smal faulte, and such a one as perchance would never be marked, no neither in *Italie*, nor *France*. This I write, not so much to note the first, or praise the last, as to leave in memorie of writing, for good example to posteritie, what perfection in any time, was most diligentlie sought for in like maner in all kinde of learnyng, in that most worthie college of St. *Johnes* in *Cambridge*.

* Who he means I know not: but he seems to have had St. *Hierome* before him, when he wrote this passage. "Unus quidam, poeta nominatus, homo perlitteratus, cujus sunt illa colloquia poetarum ac philosophorum, quam facit Euripidem et Menandrum inter se, et alio loco Socratem atque Epicurum differentes, quorum ætates non annis, sed seculis scimus esse disjunctas; quantos is plausus et clamores movet? Multos enim condiscipulos habet in theatro, qui simul literas non didicerunt." *Epist. ad Nepot.*

† "Dividitur nova comœdia in quatuor partes: prologum, protasin, epitasin, catastrophen."

‡ What is here assign'd, could never be the true reason of Mr. *Watson*'s refusing to publish his tragedy, so accurately composed, as to be put in competition with *Buchanan's Jephthe*. For why did he not correct what he judged amiss? a thing so very easy for him to do. Tho' what if we say, there was no fault in this respect committed, nor any need of alteration? For excepting the sixth place, the *Anapest* has free liberty to stand where it pleases; and that for this reason, especially with the comedians, as *Hephæstion* has observed.

Ευρίσκειται δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Κωμικοῖς συνεχῶς ὁ Ἀνάπαις. τὸν γὰρ βίον ἔτοι μιμνῆμενοι, θέλουσι δοκεῖν διαλελυμένως διαλέγεσθαι, καὶ μὴ ἐμμελῶς. ὁ δὲ Ἀνάπαις διαλελυμένην ποιεῖ τὴν φράσιν, διὰ τὸ τρισημόν.

I suppose the true reason hereof was, either an unwillingness to appear in print, or a dissatisfaction with the times, he being one of the ejected bishops.

T t

Histo-

THE WORKS OF

Historicum, in { *Diaria*,
Annales,
Commentarios,
Iustam historiam.

For what propriety in wordes, simplicitie in sentences, plainnesse and light, is comlie for these kindes, *Cæsar* and *Livie*, for the two last, are perfite examples of imitation. And for the two first, * the old paterns be lost; and as for some that be present, and of late tyme, they be fitter to be read once for some pleasure, than oft to be perused, for any good imitation of them.

Philosophicum, in { *Sermonem*; as *Officia Ciceronis*, & *Ethica Arist.*
Contentionem; as, the Dialogues of *Plato*, *Xenophon*,
and *Cicero*.

Of which kinde of learnyng, and right imitation thereof, *Carolus Sigonius* hath written of late both learnedlie and eloquentlie; but best of all, my frende *Joan. Sturmius*, in hys commentaries upon *Gorgias Platonis*; which booke I have in writyng, and is not yet set out in print.

Oratorium, in { *Humile*,
Mediocre,
Sublime.

Examples of these three in the *Greke* tonge, be plentifull and perfite, as *Lycias*, *Isocrates*, and *Demosthenes*: and all three, in onlie *Demosthenes* in diverse orations; as *contra Olympiodorum*, in *Leptinem*, and *pro Ctesiphonte*. And trew it is, that *Hermogenes* writeth of *Demosthenes*, † “that all formes of eloquence be perfite in him.” In *Ciceroes* orations, *Medium* & *Sublime*, be most excellentlie handled; but *Humile* in his

* “Atqui ne nostros contempnas, inquit Antonius; Græci ipsi sic initio scriptitarunt, ut noster Cato, ut Piclor, ut Piso. Erat enim historia nihil aliud, nisi annalium confectio.” *Cicero de Orat. lib. 2.*

† See *Hermogenes's* first book *de Formis Orationis*, cap. 1. I have not the *Greek* by me, and the *Latin* is not worth citing.

orations is seldome seen: yet neverthelesse, in other bookes, as in some parte of his Offices, and specially in *Partitionibus*, he is comparable in *hoc humili, & disciplinabili genere*, even with the best that ever wrote in Greke. But of Cicero more fullie in fitter place.

And thus the trew difference of stiles in everie author, and everie kinde of learnyng, may easly be knowne by this division,

In Genus { *Poeticum,*
Historicum,
Philosophicum,
Oratorium.

Which I thought in this place to touch onelie, not to prosecute at large; bicause, God willing, in the *Latin* tonge, I will fullie handle it in my booke *de Imitatione*.

Now to touch more particularlie, which of those authors, that be now most commonlie in mens handes, will sone affourd you some piece of eloquence; and what manner a piece of eloquence; and what is to be liked and folowed; and what to be misliked, and eschewed in them; and how some agayne will furnishe you fully withall, rightly and wisely considered, somewhat I will write, as I have heard Syr John Cbeke many times say.

The *Latin* tonge, concerning any part of pureness of it, from the spring to the decay of the same, did not endure moch longer, * than is the life of a well aged man; scarce one hundred years from the tyme of the last *Scipio Africanus* and *Laelius*, to the empire of *Augustus*. And it is notable, that *Velleius Paterculus* † writeth of *Tullie*, " how that the " per-

* " Ipse ego in Britannia vidi senem, qui se fateretur et pugnae interfuisse, qua Caesarem inferentem arma Britanniae, arcere litoribus, et pellere aggressi sunt. Ita si eum, qui armatus C. Caesari restitit, vel captivitas, vel voluntas, vel fatum aliquod in Urbem pertraxisset, idem Caesarem ipsum et Ciceronem audire potuit, et nostris quoque actionibus interesse." *Dialogus de Oratoribus*.

† " Historicos (ut Livium quoque priorum aetati adstruas) praeter Catonem, & quosdam veteres & obscuros, minus LXXX annis circumdatum aevum tulit; ut nec poetarum in antiquius

“ perfection of eloquence did so remayne onelie in him, and in his time,
 “ as before him were few which might moch delight a man, or after
 “ him, any worthy admiration, but such as *Tullie* might have seene,
 “ and such as might have seene *Tullie*.” And good cause why; for no
 perfection is durable. Encrease hath a time, and decay likewise; but
 all perfit ripenesse remaineth but a moment: as is plainly seen in fruites,
 plummets, and cherries; but more sensibly in flowers, as roses, and such
 like; and yet as trewlie in all greater matters. For what naturallie
 * can go no hier, must naturallie yield and stoupe againe.

Of this short tyme of purenesse of the *Latin* tonge, for the first
 fortie yeares of it, and all the tyme before, we have no piece of learn-
 yng left, save *Plautus* and *Terence*, † with a little rude unperfit pam-
 flet of the elder *Cato*. And as for *Plautus*, except the scholemaster be
 able to make wise and warie choice, first, in proprietie of wordes, then
 in framing of phrases and sentences, and chieflie in choice of honestie
 of matter; your scholer were better to play, than learne all that is in
 him. But surelie, if judgement for the tonge, and direction for the
 manners, be wisely joined with the diligent reading of *Plautus*, then
 trewlie *Plautus*, for that purenesse of the *Latin* tonge in *Rome*, when
Rome did most flourish in well doing, and so thereby in well speaking
 also, is foch a plentiful store-house for common eloquence in meane
 matters, and all private mens affaires, as the *Latin* tonge, for that re-
 spect, hath not the like againe. When I remember the worthy tyme
 of *Rome*, wherein *Plautus* did live, I must nedes honor the talke of that
 tyme, which we see *Plautus* doth use.

“ antiquius ceteriusve processit ubertas. At oratio, ac vis forensis, perfectumque profæ elo-
 “ quentiæ decus, ut idem separetur Cato, (pace P. Craffi, Scipionisque & Lælii & Graccho-
 “ rum, & Fannii, & Ser. Galbæ dixerim) ita universa sub principe operis sui erupit Tullio;
 “ ut delectari ante eum paucissimis, mirari vero neminem possis, nisi aut ab illo visum, aut
 “ qui illum viderit.” *Paterculus*.

* “ Alit æmulatio ingenia: & nunc invidia, nunc admiratio incitationem accendit. Ma-
 “ turè quoque, (*so I think it should be read*) quod summo studio petitum est, ascendit in sum-
 “ mum: difficilisque in perfecto mora est; naturaliterque quod procedere non potest, recedit.”
Idem.

† One would imagine, Mr. *Ascham* had never seen *Victorius's* edition of *Cato, de Re Rustica*:
 since he here calls it a little rude imperfect pamphlet. And yet 'twas printed by *Rob. Stephens*,
 anno 1543.

Terence

Terence is also a store-house of the same tonge, for another tyme, following soone after; and although he be not so full and plentyful as *Plautus* is, for multitude of matters, and diversitie of wordes; yet his wordes be chosen so purelie, placed so orderlie, and all his stuffe so neatlie packed up, and wittely compassed in every place, as, by all wise mens judgement, "he is counted the cunninger workman, and to have "his shop, for the rowme that is in it, more finely appointed, and "trimlier ordered, than *Plautus* is."

Three things chiefly, both in *Plautus* and *Terence*, are to be specially considered; the matter, the utterance, the wordes, the meter. The matter in both, is altogether within the compasse of the meanest mens maners, and doth not stretch to any thing of any great weight at all: but standeth chiefly * in utteryng the thoughtes and conditions of hard fathers, foolish mothers, unthrifty young men, craftie servantes, sotle bawdes, and wilie harlots; and so is moch spent in finding out fine fetches, and packing up pelting matters, soch as in *London* commonlie come to the hearing of the masters of *Bridewell*. Here is base stuffe for that scholer, that should become hereafter either a good minister in religion, or a civill gentleman in service of his prince and contrie; (except the preacher do know soch matters to confute them) when ignorance surelie in all soch thinges, were better for a civill gentleman, than knowledge. "And thus for matter, both *Plautus* and *Terence* be like meane "painters, that worke by halves; and be cunning onelie in making the "worst part of the picture: as if one were skilfull in painting the bodie "of a naked person from the navell downward, but nothing else."

For word and speach, *Plautus* is more plentiful, and *Terence* more pure and proper. And for one respect, *Terence* is to be embraced above all that ever wrote in thys kinde of argument: bicause it is well known,

* In this is chiefly contained the subject-matter of all comedies; which *Ovid* has ingeniously compriz'd in two verses:

*Dum fallax servus, durus pater, improba lena,
Vivent, dum meretrix blanda; Menandros erit.*

And so has *Terence* before him with no less art, in the prologue to his *Eunuchus*.

by

by good recorde of learnyng, and that by * *Ciceroes* owne witnes, that some comedies bearing *Terence* name, were written by worthy *Scipio*, and wise *Lælius*; and namely *Heautontimorumenos* and *Adelphi*. And therefore, as oft as I read those comedies, so oft doth sound in myne eare the pure fine taulke of *Rome*, which was used by the floure of the worthiest nobilitie that ever *Rome* bred. Let the wisest man, and best learned that liveth, read advisedlie over the first scene of *Heautontimorumenos*, and the first scene of *Adelphi*; and let him considerately judge, whether it is the talke of a servile stranger borne, or rather even that milde eloquent wise speach, which *Cicero* † in *Brutus* doth so lively expresse in *Lælius*. And yet neverthelesse, in all this good proprietie of wordes, and purenesse of phrasēs, which be in *Terence*, ye must not follow him alwayes in placing of them; bicause for the meter sake, some wordes in him somtyme be driven awrie, which require a straighter placing in plaine prose, if ye will forme, as I would ye should do, your speach and writing to that excellent perfitnesse, which was onely in *Tullie*, or onelie in *Tullies* tyme.

The meter and verse of *Plautus* and *Terence* be verie meane, and not to be followed: which is not their reproach, ‡ but the fault of the tyme, wherein they wrote, when no kinde of poetrie, in the *Latin* tonge, was brought to perfection; as doth well appeare in the fragmentes of *Ennius*, *Cæcilius*, and others, and evidentlie in *Plautus*, and *Terence*; if thies in *Latin* be compared with right skil with *Homer*, *Euripides*, *Ari-*

* “Secutus sum, non dico *Cæcilium*, *Mane ut ex portu in Piræum*; (malus enim auctor “*Latinitatis* est) sed *Terentium*, cujus fabellæ propter elegantiam sermonis, putabantur à “*C. Lælio* scribi: *Here aliquot adolescentuli coimus in Piræum.*” *Cic. lib. 7. epist. ad Attic. ep. 3.*

† “De ipsius *Lælii* & *Scipionis* ingenio, quanquam ea jam est opinio, ut plurimum tri- “*buatur* ambobus; dicendi tamen laus est in *Lælio* illustrior. ——— Nam ut ex bellica “*laude* adspirare ad *Africanum* nemo potest, in qua ipsa egregium *Viriati* bello reperimus “*fuisse* *Lælium*: sic ingenii, literarum, eloquentiæ, sapientiæ denique et si utrique primas, “*priores* tamen libenter deferunt *Lælio*.” *Cic. de claris Orator.* In which place, he has drawn a full comparison betwixt *Lælius* and *Galba*.

‡ ————— *In longum tamen ævum*
Manferunt, hodièque manent vestigia ruris.
Servus enim Græcis admovit acumina chartis;
Et post Punica bella quietus, quærere cœpit,
Quid Sophocles, et Theſpis, et Æschylus utile ferrent. Horace, ep. 1. lib. 11.
Sophanes,

Stophanes, and other in *Greke* of like sort. *Cicero* himselfe * doth complaine of this unperfitnes; but more plainly *Quintilian*, saying, † *In Comœdia maximè claudicamus*; & *vix levem consequimur umbram*: and most earnestly of all, *Horace* in *de Arte Poetica*. Which he doth namely *propter carmen Iambicum*; and referreth all good students herein to the imitation of the *Greke* tonge, saying;

*Vos exemplaria Græca
Nocturnâ versate manu, versate diurnâ.*

This matter maketh me gladly remember my sweete tyme spent at *Cambrige*, and the pleasant talke which I had oft with *M. Cbeke*, and *M. Watſon*, of this fault, not onely in the olde *Latin* poets, but also in our new *English* rymers at this day. They wished, as *Virgil* and *Horace* were not wedded to follow the faultes of former fathers, (a shrewd marriage in greater matters) but by right *Imitation* of the perfit *Grecians*, had brought poetry to perfitnesse also in the *Latin* tonge; that we *Englishmen* likewise would acknowledge and understand rightfullie our rude beggarly ryming, brought first into *Italie* by *Gothes* and *Hunnes*, when all good verses, and all good learnyng to, were destroyed by them; and after caryed into *France* and *Germanie*, and at last receyved into *Englande* by men of excellent wit indeede, but of small learnyng, and lesse judgement in that behalfe.

But now, when men know the difference, and have the examples both of the best, and of the worst; furelie to follow rather the *Gothes* in ryming, than the *Greekes* in trew versifying, were even to eate acornes with swyne, when we may freely eate wheate bread amonges men. In-

* “*Comicorum senarios propter similitudinem sermonis sic saepe abjectos esse, ut nonnunquam in his numerus et versus vix intelligi possit.*” *In Orat. ad Brutum.* *Horace’s* judgement is much the same, more particularly with respect to *Plautus*.

† “*In comœdia maximè claudicamus: licet Varro dicat, Musas, Ælii Stolonis sententia, Plautino sermone locuturas fuisse, si Latine loqui vellent; licet Cæcilium veteres laudibus ferant; licet Terentii scripta ad Scipionem Africanum referantur: quæ tamen sunt in hoc genere elegantissima, & plus adhuc habitura gratiæ, si intra versus trimetros stetissent. Vix levem consequimur umbram: adeo ut mihi sermo ipse Romanus non recipere videatur illam solis concessam Atticis Venerem, quando eam ne Græci quidem in alio genere linguæ obtinuerint.*” *Quint. de Instit. Orat. lib. 10. cap. 1.*

THE WORKS OF

deede *Chaufer*, * *Tb. Norton* of *Bristol*, † my lord of *Surrey*, M. *Wiat*, ‡ *Tb. Phaer*, and other gentlemen, in translating *Ovide*, *Palingenius*, and *Seneca*, have gone as farre to their great praise, as the copie they followed could cary them. But if soch good wittes, and forward diligence, had bene directed to folow the best examples, and not have bene caryed by tyme and custome, to content themselves with that barbarous and rude ryming; amonges their other worthy praises, which they have justly deserved, this had not bene the least, to be counted amonges men of learnyng and skill, more like unto the *Grecians*, than unto the *Gothians*, in handlyng of their verse.

Indeede our *English* tonge, having in use chiefly wordes of one syl-
lable, which commonly be long, doth not well receive the nature of
Carmen Heroicum: bicause *Dactylus*, the aptest foote for that verse, con-
teining one long, and two short, is seldom therefore found in *English*;
and doth also rather stumble, than stand upon *Monosyllabis*. *Quintilian*,
in hys learned chapter || *de Compositione*, giveth this lesson *de Monosyllabis*
before me; and in the same place doth justlie invey against all ryming;
that if there be anie who be angry with me for misliking of ryming,
they may be angry for company too with *Quintilian* also, for the same
thing: and yet *Quintilian* had not so just cause to mislike of it then,
as men have at this day.

* *Thomas Norton*, born in *Bristol*, an alchymist, flourished in the reign of *Edward IV*.

† “ In the latter end of the reign of *Henry* the eighth, sprung up a new company of courtly
“ poets, of whom Sir *Thomas Wiat* the elder, and *Henry* Earl of *Surrey*, were the two chief-
“ tains; who having travelled into *Italy*, and there tasted the sweet and stately measures and
“ stile of the *Italian* poesie, as novices newly crept out of the scholes of *Dante*, *Ariosto*, and
“ *Petrarch*, they greatly polished our rude and homely manner of vulgar poesie from that it
“ had been before: and for that cause may justly be said the first reformers of our *English*
“ metre and stile.” *The Art of English Poesie*; an anonymous writer in Queen *Elizabeth*’s reign.

‡ “ In Queen *Marie*’s time flourished above any other Doctor *Phaer*; one that was well
“ learned, and excellently well translated into *English* verse heroical, certain books of *Virgil*’s
“ *Aeneis*.” The same author.

|| “ Etiam monosyllaba, si plura sunt, malè continuabuntur, quia necesse est, compositio
“ multis clausulis concisa subsultet. Ideoque etiam brevium verborum ac nominum vitanda
“ continuatio, & ex diverso quoque longorum: afferunt enim quandam dicendi tarditatem.
“ Illa quoque vitia sunt ejusdem loci, si cadentia similiter & similiter desinentia, & eodem
“ modo declinata, multa jungantur.” *Idem*, lib. 9. cap. 4.

And

And although *Carmen Exametrum* doth rather trotte and hoble, than run smothly, in our *English* tonge; yet I am sure our *English* tonge * will receive *Carmen Iambicum* as naturallie as either *Greeke* or *Latin*. But for ignorance men cannot like, and for idlenes men will not labor, to come to any perfitnes at all. For as the worthy poets in *Athens* and *Rome* were more carefull to satisfie the judgement † of one learned, than rashe in pleasing the humor of a rude multitude; even so, if men in *Englande* now had the like reverend regard to learnyng, skill, and judgement, and durst not presume to write, except they came with the like learnyng; and also did use like diligence in searhyng out, not onelie just measure in everie meter (as everie ignorant person may easielie do) but also trew quantitie in every foote and fillable, (as onelie the learned shall be able to do, and as the *Grekes* and *Romans* were wnot to do) surelie then rashe ignorant heades, which now can easily reckon up fourteen syllables, and easilie stumble on every ryme, either durst not, for lacke of such learnyng, or els would not, in avoyding such labor, be so busie, as everie where they be; and shoppes in *London* should not be so full of lewd and rude rymes, as commonlie they are. But now the ripest of tonge be readiest to write. “ And many
“ daily in setting out bookes, and balettes, make great shew of blossoms
“ and buddes; in whom is neither roote of learnyng, nor fruit of wis-
“ dome at all.”

* This our incomparable *Milton*, not inferior to any of the ancients, well understood; as indeed he did every thing else, worth knowing, in the whole compass of learning. He that reads him with right judgment, will easily observe, what use he makes of the *Iambic*, and how frequently in the second place, to give strength and firmness to his verse. As for instance, in these, which I never read without the greatest admiration:

*Part on the plain, or in the air sublime
Upon the wing, or in swift race contend,
As at th' Olympian games, or Pythian fields.*

And a little after, in this sweet verse, where all the feet, excepting the fourth, are *Iambics*.

For eloquence the soul, song charms the sense.

This excellency almost peculiar to himself in our language, as also his setting aside rhyme, as no true ornament of verse, I question not but Mr. *Milton* owes in a great measure (next to his own natural genius) to the authority and reason of this wise and ingenious writer. 'Tis certain, he had the memory of Sir *John Cheke* in great veneration: and to me he seems, in the short account of his verse, printed before his poem, to have had our author in his eye.

† ——— *Satis est equitem mihi plaudere, ut audax,
Contemptis aliis, explosa Arbuscula dixit.*

Horace.

U u

Some,

Some, that make * *Chaucer* in *English*, and *Petrarch* in *Italian*, their gods in verses, and yet be not able to make trewe difference, what is a fault, and what is a just praise, in those two worthie wittes, will moch mislike this my wryting. But such men be even like followers of *Chaucer* and *Petrarch*, as one here in *Englande* did folow Syr *Tho. More*; who, being most unlike unto him in wit and learnyng, nevertheless, in wearing his gowne † awrye upon one shoulder, as Syr *Tho. More* was wont to do, would nedes be counted lyke unto him.

This mislikyng of ryming beginneth not now of any new fangle singularity, but hath bene long misliked of many, and that of men of greatest learnyng, and deepest judgement. And soch that defend it, do so, either for lacke of knowledge, what is best; or els of verie envie, that any should performe that in learnyng, whereunto they, as I sayd before, either for ignorance cannot, or for idlenes will not labor to attain unto.

And you that praise this ryming, bicause you neither have reason why to like it, nor can shew learnyng to defend it; yet I will helpe you with the authoritie of the oldest and learnedest tyme. In *Greece*, when poetrie was even at the hiest pitch of perfitness, one *Simmias Rhodius*, of a certain singularity, wrote a book in ryming *Greeke* verses, naming it 'Ωδὴν, conteyning the fable, how *Jupiter*, in likenes of a swan, gat that egge upon *Leda*, whereof came *Castor*, *Pollux*, and faire *Elena*. This booke was so liked, that it had few to read it, but none to folow it: but was presentlie contemned; and soon after, both author and booke

* *Jeffrey Chaucer*, born at *Woodstock*, father of our *English* poets, lived in the time of *Richard II.* who gave him the manour of *Newbolme* in *Oxfordshire*. He died in 1440.

† Of this ridiculous and servile imitation, wise men have always complain'd. *Horace* is full of it; and so is *Quintilian*, and *Martial*. But none so apposite as *Tully*, in his second book *de Oratore*:

“Nihil est facilius, quàm amictum imitari alicujus, aut statum, aut motum. Si verò etiam vitiosè aliquid est, id sumere, & in eo vitiosum esse, non magnum est: ut ille, qui nunc etiam amissa voce furit in republica *Fufius*, nervos in dicendo *C. Fimbriæ*, quos tamēn habuit ille, non assequitur; oris pravtatem, & verborum latitudinem imitatur.”

Erasmus, in his account of Sir *Thomas Moore*, has these words: “Dexter humerus paulo videtur eminentior lævo, præsertim cum incedit; id quod illi non accidit naturâ, sed assuetudine, qualia permulta nobis solent adhærere.” In *Epist. ad Ulricum Huttenum*.

so

so forgotten by men, and consumed by tyme, as scarce the name of either is kept in memorie of learnyng. And the like folie was never folowed of any many hondred years after, until the *Hunnes* and *Gothians*, and other barbarous nations of ignorance and rude singularitie, did revive the same folie agayne.

The noble lord *Henry* * Earle of *Surrey*, first of all *Englishmen*, in translating the fourth booke of *Virgil*; and † *Gonsalvo Periz*, that excellent learned man, and secretarie to king *Philip* of *Spaine*, in translating the *Ulisses* of *Homer* out of *Greke* into *Spanishe*, have both, by good judgement, avoyded the fault of ryming: yet neither of them hath fullie hit perfite and trew versifying. Indeede they observe just number, and even feete: but here is the fault, that their feete be feete without jointes, that is to say, not distinct by trew quantitie of sillables. And so soch feete be but benumbed feete; and be even as unfitte for a verse to turne, and runne roundly withall, as feete of brasse or wood be unwieldie to go well withall. And as a foote of wood is a plaine shew of a manifest maine: even so feete in our *English* versifying without quantitie and jointes, be sure signes, that the verse is either borne deformed, unnatural, or lame; and so verie unseemlie to looke upon, except to men that be gogle eyed themselves.

The Earle of
Surrey.
Gonsalvo
Periz.

The spying of this fault now, is not the curiositie of *English* eyes, but even the good judgement also of the best that write in these dayes in *Italie*, and namelie of that worthie *Senese Felice Figliucci*; who ‡ *Senese Felice Figliucci*.

* By a mistake, it was printed till now, *Thomas* Earl of *Surrey*. The title of his poems is, *Songs and Sonnets*, written by the Right Honourable Lord *Henry Howard*, late Earl of *Surrey*. Of him, and Sir *Thomas Wiat*, I find this character in the author above mentioned.

“ I repute them, between whom I find little difference, for the two chief lanterns of light to all others, that have since employed their pens upon *English* poesy. Their conceits were lofty, their stiles stately, their conveyance cleanly, their terms proper, their metre sweet and well proportioned, in all imitating very naturally and studiously their master *Francis Petrarch*.”

† Among Mr. *Ascham*'s letters, there is one to this learned *Spaniard*, wherein he recommends the ambassador Sir *William Cecil* to his acquaintance and friendship. The superscription of the letter is, *Clarissimo viro, D. Gonsalvo Perisio, Regis Catholici Secretario primario, & Consiliario intimo, Amico meo carissimo*.

‡ The title of this *Italian* book is, *Filosofia Morale sopra il 10 libri d'Ethica d'Aristotile*.

THE WORKS OF

writing upon *Aristotles Ethickes* so excellentlie in *Italian*, as never did yet any one in myne opinion, either in *Greke* or *Latin*; amongst other thynges, doth most earnestlie invey against the rude ryming of verses in that tonge. And when soever he expresseth *Aristotles* precepts with any example out of *Homer* or *Euripides*, he translateth them, not after the rymes of *Petrarch*, but into such kind of perfite verse, with like feete and quantitie of fillables, as he found them before in the *Greke* tonge: exhorting earnestlie all the *Italian* nation, to leave of their rude barbariouse in ryming, and folow diligently the excellent *Greke* and *Latin* examples in trew versifying.

And you, that be able to understand no more than you finde in the *Italian* tonge; and never went farder than the schole of *Petrarch* and *Ariostus* abroad, or els of *Chaucer* at home; though you have pleasure to wander blindlie still in your foule wrong way, envie not others that seeke, as wise men have done before them, the fairest and rightest way: or els, beside the just reproach of malice, wise men shall trewlie judge, that you do so, as I have sayd, and say yet againe unto you, bicause either for idlenes ye will not, or for ignorance ye cannot, come by no better yourselves.

And therefore, even as *Virgil* and *Horace* deserve most worthie praise, that they spyng the unperfitnes in *Ennius* and *Plautus*, by trew imitation of *Homer* and *Euripides*, brought poetry to the same perfitnes in *Latin*, as it was in *Greke*; even so those, that by the same way would benefite their tonge and contrey, deserve rather thanks than dispraise in that behalfe.

And I reioice, that even poore *Englande* prevented *Italie*, first in spyng out, then in seeking to amend this fault in learnyng.

And here, for my pleasure, I purpose a little by the way, to play and sporte with my master *Tully*; from whom commonlie I am never wont to dissent. He himsele, for this point of learnyng, in his verses doth halt a little by his leave: he could not denie it, if he were alive; nor those defend him now that love him best. This fault I lay to his charge; bicause once it pleased him, though somewhat merelie, yet over-

uncurtessie, to rayle upon poore *Englande*, objecting both extreme beggarie, and mere barbariousnes unto it, writyng thus unto * his frend *Tullies say-
Atticus*: "There is not one scruple of silver in that whole isle; or any ing againste
"one that knoweth either learnyng or letter." *Englande.*

But now, master *Cicero*, blessed be God, and his sonne *Jesus Christ*, whom you never knew, except it were as it pleased him to lighten you by some shadow; as covertlie in one place ye confesse, sayyng, † *Veri-*
tatis tantum umbram consecramur, as your master *Plato* did before you: blessed be God, I say, that sixteen hundred yeare after you were dead and gone, it may trewly be sayd, that for silver, there is more com-
lie plate in one citie of *Englande*, than is in four of the proudest cities in all *Italie*, and take *Rome* for one of them: and for learnyng, be-
side the knowledge of all learned tonges and liberal sciences, even your owne bookes, *Cicero*, be as well read, and your excellent eloquence is as well liked and loved, and as trewlie folowed in *Englande* at this day, as it is now, or ever was since your own tyme, in any place of *Italie*, either at *Arpinum*, where you was borne, or els at *Rome*, where you was brought up. And a little to brag with you, *Cicero*, where you your-
selfe, by your leave, halted in some point of learnyng in your own tonge, many in *Englande* at this day go streight up, both in trewe skill, and right doing therein.

Offic.

This I write, not to reprehend *Tullie*, whom above all other I like and love best; but to excuse *Terence*, because in hys tyme, and a good while after, poetrie was never perfited in *Latin*, untill by trew *Imitation* of the *Grecians*, it was at length brought to perfection: and also

* "Britannici belli exitus expectatur: constat enim aditus insulæ esse munitos mirificis molibus. Etiam illud jam cognitum est, neque argenti scrupulum esse ullum in illa insula, neque ullam spem prædæ, nisi ex mancipiis: ex quibus nullos puto te literis, aut musicis eruditos expectare." *Cic. lib. 4. Epist. ad Attic. ep. 16.* The same thing he mentions to *Trebatius*, *lib. 7. Fam. Epist.* "In Britannia nihil esse audio neque auri, neque argenti. Id si ita est, essedum aliquod suadeo capias, et ad nos quamprimum recurras." But *Tacitus*, in the life of *Julius Agricola*, affirms the contrary. "Fert Britannia aurum et argentum, et alia metalla, pretium victoriæ."

† "Nos veri juris, germanæque justitiæ solidam et expressam effigiem nullam tenemus: umbrâ et imaginibus utimur: eas ipsas utinam sequeremur! feruntur enim ex optimis naturæ et veritatis exemplis." *Cic. Offic. lib. 3. cap. 17.*

there-

thereby to exhort the goodlie wittes of *Englande*, whiche apt by nature, and willing by desire, give themselves to poetrie; that they rightly understanding the barbarous bringing in of rymes, would labor, as *Virgil* and *Horace* did in *Latin*, to make perfit also this point of learnyng, in our *English* tonge. And thus much for *Plautus* and *Terence*, for matter, tonge, and meter; what is to be followed, and what to be eschewed in them.

After *Plautus* and *Terence*, no writyng remayneth untill *Tullies* tyme, except a few short fragmentes of *L. Crassus* excellent wit, here and there * recited of *Cicero* for example sake: whereby the lovers of learnyng may the more lament the losse of soch a worthie witte. And although the *Latin* tonge did faire bloome and blossome in *L. Crassus*, and *M. Antonius*; yet in *Tullies* tyme onely, and in *Tullie* himselfe chieflie, was the *Latin* tonge fullie ripe, and growne to the hiest pitch of all perfection. And yet in the same tyme, it began to fade and stoupe, as *Tullie* himselfe, in *Brutus de claris Oratoribus*, † with weeping wordes doth witness.

And bicause amonges them of that tyme there was some difference, good reason is, that of them of that tyme should be made right choice also. And yet let the best *Ciceronian* in *Italie* read *Tullies* familiar epistles

* In the first book *de Oratore*, *Antonius* recites this passage out of *Crassus's* oration to the commons of *Rome*: “Eripite nos ex miseriis; eripite nos ex faucibus eorum, quorum crudelitas nostro sanguine non potest expleri: nolite finire nos cuiquam servire, nisi vobis univ-
“ versis, quibus & possumus, & debemus.”

And in his introduction to the third, *Tully* produces this short, but admirable fragment, out of his speech, delivered in the senate-house against the Consul *Philip*: “An tu, cum
“ omnem auctoritatem universi ordinis pro pignore putaris, eamque in conspectu populi Ro-
“ mani concideris; me his pignoribus existimas posse terreri? Non tibi illa sunt cædenda,
“ si Crassum vis coercere. Hæc tibi est excidenda lingua: qua vel evulsa, spiritu ipso libi-
“ dinem tuam libertas mea refutabit.”

† “Etenim si viveret *Q. Hortensius*, cætera fortasse desideraret unà cum reliquis bonis,
“ et fortibus civibus; hunc autem & præter cæteros, aut cum paucis sustineret dolorem,
“ cum forum populi Romani, quod fuisset quasi theatrum illius ingenii, voce erudita, & Ro-
“ manis Græcisque auribus digna, spoliatum, atque orbatum videret. ———

“Nam mihi, Brute, in te intuenti crebrò in mentem venit vereri, ecquodnam curriculum
“ aliquando sit habitura tua et natura admirabilis, & exquisita doctrina, & singularis industria.
“ Cum enim in maximis causis versatus esses, & cum tibi ætas nostra jam cederet, fascesque
“ submitteret, subito in civitate cum alia ceciderunt, tum etiam ea ipsa, de qua disputare
“ ordimur, eloquentia obmutuit.” *Cic. de claris Orat.*

advif-

advisedly over, and I believe he shall finde small difference for the *Latin* tonge, either in proprietie of wordes, or framing of the stile, betwixt *Tullie*, and those that write unto him: as *Ser. Sulpitius*, *A. Cecina*, *M. Cælius*, *M. & D. Bruti*, *A. Pollio*, *L. Plancus*, and diverse other. Read the epistles of *L. Plancus* in the tenth book; and for an assay, that epistle namely to the consuls, and whole senate, the eighth epistle in number; and what could be either more eloquentlie, or more wiselie written, yea by *Tullie* himselfe, a man may justlie doubt. Thies men and *Tullie* lived all in one tyme; were like in authority, not unlike in learnyng and studie; which might be just causes of this their equalitie in writing. And yet surelie, they neither were in deede, nor yet were counted in mens opinions, equal with *Tullie* in that facultie.

And how is the difference hid in his epistles? Verelie, as the cunning of an expert seaman, in a faire calme fresh river, doth little differ from the doing of a meaner workman therein; even so, in the short cut of a private letter, where matter is common, wordes easie, and order not moch diverse, small shew of difference can appeare. But where *Tullie* doth set up his saile of eloquence in some broad deep argument, carried with full tyde and wynde of his witte and learnyng; all other may rather stand and looke after him, than hope to overtake him, what course soever he hold, either in faire or foule.

Foure men only when the *Latin* tonge was full ripe, be left unto us, who in that time did flourish, and did leave to posteritie the fruit of their witte and learnyng; *Varro*, *Salust*, *Cæsar*, and *Cicero*. When I say these foure only, I am not ignorant, that even in the same tyme most excellent poetes, deserving well of the *Latin* tonge, as *Lucretius*, *Catullus*, *Virgil*, and *Horace*, did write. But bicause in this little booke I purpose to teach a yong scholer to go, not to daunce; to speake, not to sing; (when poetes indeede, namely *Epici* and *Lyrici*, as these be, are fine dauncers, and trim fingers) but *Oratores* and *Historici* be those comlie goers, and faire and wise speakers, of whom I wishe my scholer to wayte upon first; and after in good order, and due tyme, to be brought forth to the singing and dauncing schole. And for this consideration I do meane these foure, to be the onlie writers of that tyme.

Varro.

Varro, in his bookes *de Lingua Latina*, & *Analogia*, as these be left mangled and patched unto us, doth not enter there into any great depth of eloquence; but as one carried in a small low vessel himselfe verie nigh the common shore, not much unlike the fisher men of *Rye*, and hering men of *Yarmouth*, who deserve by common mens opinion, small commendation for any cunning failing at all. Yet nevertheless in those bookes of *Varro*, good and necessarie stuffe for that meane kinde of argument, is verie well and learnedlie gathered together.

De Re Rusti-
ca.

His bookes of husbandrie are moch to be regarded, and diligentlie to be read, not onelie for the proprietie, but also for the plentie of good wordes in all contrey and husbandmens affaires; which cannot be had by so good authoritie out of any other author, either of so good a tyme, or of so great learnyng, as out of *Varro*. And yet, bicause * he was foure score year olde when he wrote those bookes, the forme of his style there compared with *Tullies* writyng, is but even the talke of a spent old man: whose wordes commonlie fall out of his mouth, though verie wiselie, yet hardly and coldlie, and more heavelie also, than some eares can well beare, except onelie for age, and authorities sake; and perchance, in a rude and contrey argument, of purpose and judgement he rather used the speach of the contrey, than the talke of the citie.

And so, for matter sake, his wordes sometyme be somewhat rude; and by the imitation of the elder *Cato*, old and out of use. And being deepe stept in age, by negligence some wordes do so scape and fall from him in those bookes, as be not worth the taking up by him that is carefull to speake or write trew *Latin*; † as that sentence in him,

* For this we have *Varro's* own words, in the beginning of his first book of *Country Affairs*:
 "Otium si essem consecutus, Fundania, commodius tibi hæc scriberem, quæ nunc, ut poterò, exponam, cogitans esse properandum: quòd, ut dicitur, si est homo bulla, eo magis fenex. Annus enim octogessimus admonet me, ut sarcinas colligam antequam proficiscar
 "è vita."

† This citation I have corrected from *Victorius's* edition. The whole sentence is this:
 "Itaque non sine causa majores nostri ex urbe in agris redigebant suos cives, quod & in pace
 "à rusticis Romanis alebantur, & in bello ab his tuebantur."

Et

Et in pace à rusticis Romanis alebantur, & in bello ab his tuebantur. A good student must be therefore careful and diligent, to read with judgement over even those authors, which did write in the most perfite tyme. And let him not be affrayd to try them, both in proprietie of wordes, and forme of stile, by the touch stone of *Cæsar* and *Cicero*; whose puritie was never foiled, no not by the sentence of those, that loved them worst.

All lovers of learnyng may fore lament the losse of those bookes of *Varro*, which he wrote in his yong and lustie yeares, with good leisure, and great * learnyng, of all parts of philosophie; of the goodliest argumentes perteyning both to the common wealth, and private life of man; as, *de Ratione Studii* & *de Liberis Educandis*; which booke is oft recited, and moch praysed, in the fragmentes of *Nonius*, even for authoritie fake. He wrote most diligentlie and largelie also the whole historie of the state of *Rome*; the mysteries of their whole religion; their laws, customs, and government in peace; their maners, and whole discipline in warre. And this is not my guesing, as one indeed that never saw those bookes; but even the verie judgement, and plaine testimonie of *Tullie* himselfe, who knew and read these bookes, † in these wordes: *Tu æta-* Acad.
tem patriæ; tu descriptiones temporum; tu sacrorum jura; tu sacerdotum; Quæst.
tu domesticam, tu bellicam disciplinam; tu sedem regionum, locorum; tu om-
nium divinarum humanarumque rerum nomina, genera, officia, causas aper-
uisti, &c.

But this great losse of *Varro*, is a little recompensed by the ‡ happy coming of *Dionysius Halicarnassæus* to *Rome* in *Augustus* dayes: who
getting

* *Quintilian's* character and judgment of this learned writer, we have in his tenth book *de Inst. Orat.* "Alterum illud est, & prius Satyræ genus, quod non sola carminum varietate
" mistum condidit Terentius Varro, vir Romanorum eruditissimus. Plurimos hic libros,
" & doctissimus composuit, peritissimus linguæ Latinæ, & omnis antiquitatis, & rerum Græ-
" carum nostrarumque; plus tamen scientiæ collaturus, quàm eloquentiæ."

† This passage taken out of *Tully's* first book of his *Academical Questions*, *St. Augustine* has also cited somewhat more fully in his sixth book *de Civitate Dei*.

‡ *Ἐγὼ κατὰ πλεῖστας εἰς Ἰταλίαν, ἅμα τῷ καταλυθῆναι τὸν Ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον ὑπὸ τῷ Σεβαστῷ Καίσαρι.* This account he gives of himself in the introduction to his history; and
X x in

getting the possession of *Varros* librarie, out of that treasure house of learnyng did leave unto us some frute of *Varros* witte and diligence; I meane, his goodlie bookes *de Antiquitatibus Romanis*. *Varro* was so esteemed for his excellent learnyng, as *Tullie* himfelfe had a reverence
 Cic. ad Att. to his judgement in all doutes of learnyng. And *Antonius Triumvir*, his enemy, and of a contrarie faction, who had power to kill and banish whom he listed; * when *Varros* name amongst others, was brought in a schedule unto him, to be noted to death, he tooke his penne, and wrote his warrant of savegard, with these most goodlie wordes, *Vivat Varro, vir doctissimus*. In later tyme, no man knew better, nor liked nor loved more *Varros* learnyng, than did St. *Augustine*; as they do well understand, that have diligentlie read over his learned bookes *de Civitate Dei*: where he hath this most notable † sentence;
 “ When I see how much *Varro* wrote, I marvell much, that ever he
 “ had any leasure to read: and when I perceive how many thinges he
 “ read, I marvell more, that ever he had any leasure to write.”

in his second book, he makes this honourable mention of *Varro*: Λέγω δὲ ὁ Τερέντιος Οὐάριον ἐν Ἀρχαιολογίαις ἔγραψεν, ἀνὴρ τῶν κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίαν ἀκμασάντων πολυπειρώτατος. The loss also of so many of *Dionysius's* books we may justly lament: for had they been preserv'd entire, we should much less have perceiv'd the want of *Varro's* learning and diligence: or to use *Balthasar Bonifacius's* words, “ Si historia Dionysii integra exstaret, nihil esset, cur “ Varronis Thesauros quæreremus.”

* Whence our author had this account, I know not: the margin directs to *Cic. ad Attic.* but I find no such passage. It seems to be a mistake of memory. *Appian*, in his 4th book of the Civil Wars, gives a very different relation. Φιλοτιμημένων δὲ αὐτὸν ὑποδέξασθαι τῶν γνωρίμων, καὶ διεριζόντων ἐς ἀλλήλους, Καλῆνος ἐξενίκησε, καὶ εἶχε ἐν ἐπαύλει, ἔνθα Ἀντώνιος, ὅτε διδοῦει, κατήγετο, καὶ τὸν Οὐάριον οὐδεὶς ἔδον ὄντα ἐνέφηνε θεράπων, ὥστε αὐτὸς Οὐάριον, ὥστε Καλῆνον. See the second *Philip.* near the end.

† The second chapter of St. *Augustine's* sixth book, is wholly spent in admiration of *Varro's* learning and industry; where this following passage is, to which Mr. *Ascham* alludes:

“ Iste igitur vir, tam insignis excellentisque peritiæ, & quod de illo etiam Terentianus “ elegantissimo versiculo breviter ait;

Vir doctissimus undecunque Varro:

“ qui tam multa legit, ut aliquid ei scribere vacasse miremur: tam multa scripsit, quàm multa “ vix quenquam legere potuisse arbitror.”

The number of his works is almost incredible. *Aulus Gellius* relates from *Varro's* own words, that in his 84th year, he had writ four hundred and ninety books: but that his library having been plundered during his proscription, several of them were afterwards missing.

“ Tum ibi addit, se quoque jam duodecimam annorum hebdomadam ingressum esse, & ad “ eum diem septuaginta hebdomadas librorum conscripsisse: ex quibus aliquam multos, “ quum proscriptus esset, direptis bibliothecis suis, non comparuisse.”

And furelie, if *Varros* bookes had remained to posteritie, as by Gods providence the most part of *Tullie* did, then trewlie the *Latin* tonge might have made good comparifon with the *Greke*.

S A L U S T.

Salust is a wise and worthie writer; but he requireth a learned reader, and a right considerer of him. My dearest frend, and best master that ever I had, or heard in learnyng, Syr *J. Cheke*, (soch a man, as if I should live to see *Englande* breed the like againe, I feare, I should live over long) did once give me a lesson for *Salust*, which, as I shall never forget myselfe, so is it worthie to be remembred of all those that would come to perfite judgement of the *Latin* tonge. He said, that *Salust* was not very fitte for young men to learne out of him the puritie of the *Latin* tonge; because he was not the purest in the proprietie of wordes, nor choifest in aptnes of phrases, nor the best in framing of sentences; and therefore is his writing, sayd he, neyther plaine for the matter, nor sensible for mens understanding.

Sir John
Chekes
judgement,
and counsel
for reading
of *Salust*.

“ And what is the cause thereof, Syr?” quoth I. “ Verelie, said he, bi-
“ cause in *Salustes* writing, is more arte than nature, and more labor
“ than arte: and in his labor also to moch toyle; as it were, with an
“ discontented care to write better than he could; a fault common to
“ verie many men. And therefore he doth not expresse the matter
“ lively and naturally with common speach, as ye see *Xenophon* doth in
“ *Greke*; but it is carried and driven forth artificiallie after to learned
“ a sorte, as *Thucydides* doth in his orations.”

“ And how cometh it to passe, said I, that *Cæsar* and *Ciceroes* talke
“ is so natural and plaine, and *Salusts* writing so artificial and darke;
“ when all they threë lived in one tyme?” “ I will freely tell you my
“ fanfie herein,” said he.

“ Surely *Cæsar* and *Cicero*, beside a singular prerogative of natural
“ eloquence, given unto them by God; both two by use of life were
“ daylie orators amonges the common people, and greatest councillors
“ in the senate house: and therefore gave themselves to use soch speech,

THE WORKS OF

“ as the meanest should well understand, and the wisest best allow :
 “ following carefullie that good counsell of *Aristotle*, *Loquendum, ut mul-*
 “ *ti ; sapiendum, ut pauci.*

“ *Salust* was no such man, neyther for will to goodness, nor skill by
 “ learnyng ; but ill given by nature, and made worse by bringing up ;
 “ * spent the most part of his youth very misorderly in riot and leach-
 “ ery, in the company of such, who never giving their minde to
 “ honest doying, could never inure their tonge to wise speaking. But at
 “ last coming to better years, and buying witte at the dearest hand,
 “ (that is, by long experience of the hurt and shame that cometh of
 “ mischief) moved by the counsell of them that were wise, and carried
 “ by the example of such as were good ; he first fell to honestie of life,
 “ and after to the love of studie and learnyng : and so became so new a
 “ man, that *Cæsar* being dictator, made him prætor in *Numidia* ; where
 “ he, absent from his contrie, and not inured with the common talke
 “ of *Rome*, but shut up in his studie, and bent wholie upon reading, did
 “ write the storie of the *Romans*. And for the better accomplishing of
 “ the same, he read *Cato* and *Piso* in *Latin*, for gathering of matter and
 “ troth ; and *Thucydides* in *Greke*, for the order of his storie, and fur-
 “ nishing of his style.

“ *Cato* (as his tyme required) had more troth for the matter, than
 “ eloquence for the style. And so *Salust*, † by gathering troth out of
 “ *Cato*, smelleth moch of the roughnes of his style : even as a man
 “ that eateth garlike for helth, shall cary away with him the favor of
 “ it also, whether he will or not. And yet the use of old wordes, is
 “ not the greatest cause of *Salustes* roughnes and darkenesse. There be

* “ *Hæc ostendunt, inquit Ger. Vossius, vitam Sallustii laudari à nemine posse. Nempe*
 “ *omnis ejus gloria à præclaris scriptis proficiscitur.*”

† His extreme affectation, and fondness for *Cato*'s language, is severely censured in an old
 epigram, made by no friend, as it appears, of *Salluste*'s, and mentioned by *Quintilian*.
 “ *Nec minus noto Sallustius epigrammate incescitur,*

Et verba antiqui multum furate Catonis
Crispe, Jugurthinæ conditor historię.

“ in

“ in *Salust* * some old wordes indeed, as *patrare bellum*, *ductare exerci-*
 “ *tum*, well noted by *Quintilian*, and verie much misliked of him. And
 “ † *supplicium* for *supplicatio*; a word smelling of an older store than the
 “ other two, so misliked by *Quintilian*. And yet is that word also in
 “ *Varro*, speaking of oxen thus, *Ad victimas farciunt, atque ad Deo-*
 “ *rum servant supplicia*: and a few old wordes mo.

“ Read *Salust* and *Tullie* advisedlie together, and in wordes you shall
 “ finde small difference: yea *Salust* is more given to new wordes than
 “ to olde, though some writers say the contrarie: as ‡ *claritudo*,
 “ for *gloria*; † *exactè*, for *perfectè*; || *facundia* for *eloquentia*. These two
 “ last

* “ Ni multitudo togatorum fuisset, quæ Numidas insequentes prohibuit, uno die inter
 “ duos reges coeptum atque patratum foret bellum:” in his *Jugurthine* war. And again, in
 the same history; “ Tamen spe patrandi belli.” So likewise, “ Ductare exercitum,” in his
Catilinarian conspiracy; “ Quia Cn. Pompeius invisus ipsi, magnum exercitum ductabat.”
 And in his history of *Jugurtha*; “ Ipse quasi vitabundus, per saltuosa loca, & tramites exer-
 “ citum ductare.”

These expressions in *Salluste*, *Quintilian* does indeed take notice of; but not so much to
 find fault with the historian for using them, as with the age wherein he lived, and some idle
 wits, who strained the signification of these words to a loose and wanton meaning, quite con-
 trary to the historian's intention and design.

“ Vel hoc vitium sit, quod *κακὸς λόγος* vocatur: five mala consuetudine in obscænum in-
 “ tellectum sermo detortus est, ut, *ductare exercitum*, &, *patrare bellum*, apud *Sallustium*
 “ dicta sanctè & antiquè, ridentur à nobis, si diis placet: quam culpam non scribentium
 “ quidem judico, sed legentium: tamen vitanda, quatenus verba honesta moribus perdid-
 “ mus, & evincentibus etiam vitiis cedendum est.”

† “ Itaque senatus ob ea feliciter acta, Diis immortalibus supplicia decernere.” *Bello Ju-*
gurthino. The following passage is in *Varro's* second book *de Re Rustica*, cap. 5. but ill print-
 ed in the first edition. “ Tametsi quidam de Italicis, quos propter amplitudinem præstare
 “ dicunt, ad victimas farciunt, atque ad Deorum servant supplicia.” And in his *Catil.*
 “ In suppliciis Deorum magnifici, domi parci.”

‡ “ Cùm præsertim tam multæ variæque sint artes animi, quibus summa claritudo paratur:”
 in his preface to the *Jugurthine* war. And a little after, speaking of *Jugurtha*; “ In tantam
 “ claritudinem brevi pervenerat, uti nostris vehementer carus, Numantinis maximo terrori
 “ esset.”

† In *Horace* we have the participle *exactis*.

——— *Sed emendata videri,*
Pulchraque, et exactis minimùm distantia, miror.

|| “ Facundia Græcos, gloria belli Gallos ante Romanos fuisse.” *Bello Catil.* And in his
Jugurthine: “ Sed, quoniam ea tempestate Romæ Memmii facundia clara pollensque fuit.”
 Now whatever *Tully's* reasons were for refusing this word, yet *Horace*, it is very certain, and
Ovid, were neither of them so nice in this respect. The former uses it at least four times;
 and

“ last wordes, *exactè* and *facundia*, now in every mans mouth, be never, as I do remember, used of *Tullie*; and therefore I thinke they be not good. For surely *Tullie*, speaking every where so much of the matter of eloquence, would not so precisely have absteyned from the worde *facundia*, if it had been good; that is, proper for the tonge, and common for mens use.

The cause
why *Salust*
is not like
Tullie.

“ I could be long in reciting many such like, both olde and new wordes in *Salust*: but in verie deed, neyther oldnes nor newnes of wordes, maketh the greatest difference betwixt *Salust* and *Tullie*: but first, strange phrases, made of good *Latin* wordes, but framed after the *Greeke* tonge; which be neyther choisely borrowed of them, nor properly used by him: then a hard composition, and crooked framing of his wordes and sentences; as a man would say, *English* talke placed and framed outlandish-like. As for example first in phrases:

“ *Nimius* and *animus*, be two used wordes: yet * *homo nimius animi*, is an unused phrase. *Vulgus*, and *amat*, and *fieri*, be as common and well known wordes as may be in the *Latin* tonge: yet † *id quod vulgo*

and *Ulysses*'s speech is well known. And what is more to the purpose, *Terence* has it in his prologue to *Heautont*. But here we must observe, words that will suit with poetry will not do so with oratory, as *Tully* himself declares in his book *de Oratore*.

* This phrase, as I remember, is only in his Fragments: “*Impotens, & nimius animi est.*” In the same sense is that of *Horace*, “*Nimum mero Hylæum.*”

† If I mistake not, this expression is no where to be found in *Saluste*; but is formed by Mr. *Ascham* in imitation of his stile in other places. *Quintilian*, in his ninth book, has a passage not unlike it: “*Ex Græco verò translata vel Sallustii plurima: quale est, Vulgus amat fieri.*” And in his *Jugurthine* war: “*Tamet si multitudo, quæ in concione aderat, vehementer accensa, terrebat eum clamore, vultu, sæpe impetu, atque aliis omnibus, quæ ira fieri amat, vicit tamen impudentia.*”

In this place, we have *amat* either used as an impersonal, or else (what is still more harsh, and repugnant to the *Latin* construction) in imitation of the *Greek* tongue, joined to a nominative plural: in which language *φιλεῖ* is frequent enough in this sense; and so are *οἶδε*, *ἐπίσῃλαι*, *πέφυκε*, but more especially among the poets.

As to the word itself, whatever objections it may be liable to in prose, where every thing should be plain and easy; yet I see no reason why it should be excluded poetry. *Horace*, I'm sure, had no such scruple against it, as appears from these lines, secure of any censure.

*Aurum per medios ire satellites
Et perrumpere amat saxa, potentius
Ictu fulmineo.*

“ *amat*

" *amat fieri*, for *solet fieri*, is but a strange and *Greekish* kind of writ-
 " ing. *Ingens* and *vires*, be proper wordes; yet * *vir ingens virium*, is an
 " unproper kinde of speaking. And so be likewise *æger consilii*, *promp-*
 " *tissimus belli*, *territus animi*, and many such like phrases in *Salust*,
 " borrowed, as I sayd, not choisly out of *Greke*, and used therefore un-
 " properlie in *Latin*.

" Againe, in whole sentences, where the matter is good, the wordes
 " proper and plaine, yet the sense is hard and darke; and namely in
 " his prefaces and orations, wherein he used most labor. Which fault is
 " likewise in *Thucydides* in *Greke*, of whom *Salust* hath taken the great-
 " est part of his darknesse. For *Thucydides* likewise wrote his storie,
 " not at home in *Grece*, but abroad in *Italie*; and therefore smelleth of
 " a certaine outlandish kinde of talke, strange to them of *Athens*, and
 " diverse from their writing that lived in *Athens* and *Greece*, and wrote
 " the same time that *Thucydides* did: as *Lysias*, *Xenophon*, *Plato*, and *Isocra-*
 " *tes*, the purest and playnest writers that ever wrote in any tonge,
 " and best examples for any man to follow, whether he write *Latin*,
 " *Italian*, *French*, or *English*. *Thucydides* also semeth in his writing,
 " not so much benefited by nature, as holpen by arte, and carried forth
 " by desire, studie, labor, toyle, and over great curiositie: who spent
 " twenty seven yeares in writing his eight bookes of his history. *Sal-*
 " *ust* likewise wrote out of his contrie, and followed the faultes of
 " *Thucydides* to much; and boroweth of him some kinde of writing,
 " which the *Latin* tonge can not well beare; as † *casus nominativus* in di-
 " verse

* This expression is only to be met with in the Fragments: "*Ingens ipse virium, atque*
 " *animi.*" And so is *Consilii æger*: and likewise this sentence, "*Neque virgines nuptum à*
 " *parentibus mittebantur, sed ipsæ belli promptissimos delegebant.*" And lastly, "*Tetrar-*
 " *chas regesque territos animi firmavit.*"

† Here, for want of better copies, these two learned gentlemen were led aside to a wrong
 censure of their author. For this passage, beyond all dispute, (as later editions have settled it)
 is thus to be read; "*Itaque ab imperatore facilè, quæ petebant, adepti. Missæ sunt eo co-*
 " *hortes Ligurum quatuor, & C. Annius præfectus.*" 'Tis a short scheme of speech, fami-
 liar to *Salluste*, and other writers; wherein the auxiliary verb *sunt* is elegantly left out. In
 the same manner, *Livy* speaking of *Tullus Hostilius*: "*Imperitabat tum C. Cluilius Albæ.*
 " *utrinque legati fere sub idem tempus ad res repetendas missi.*"

And is not this a demonstration of the necessity of correct and accurate editions? Will not
 this also teach some men of letters civility, and good manners? Will not this oblige them to
 modesty,

“ verse places *absolutè positus* ; as in that place of his *Jugurthine* war, speaking *de Leptitanis* : *Itaque ab imperatore facile quæ petebant, adepti, missæ sunt eo cohortes Ligurum quatuor*. This thing in participles, used so oft in *Thucydides*, and other *Greeke* authors to, may better be borne withall ; but *Salust* useth the same more strangely and boldly, as * in these wordes ; *Multis sibi quisque imperium petentibus*. I believe, the best grammarian in *Englande* can scarce give a good rule, why *quisque* the nominative case, without any verbe, is so thrust up amongst so many oblique cases.”

Some man perchance will smile, and laugh to scorne this my writing, and call it idle curiositie, thus to busie my selfe in picking about these small pointes of grammer ; not fitte for my age, place and calling, to trifle in. I trust that man, be he never so great in authoritie, never so wise and learned, either by other mens judgement, or his own opinion, will yet thinke, that he is not greater in *Englande*, than *Tullie* was at *Rome* ; nor yet wiser, nor better learned, than *Tullie* was him-

modestly, if they chance to see a little better than others in the same argument, and discover a mistake, that has escaped the observation of such as have gone before ? Will any one pronounce his fellow-student ignorant and illiterate, for some little omission or inadvertency, when he sees two such champions in all polite learning, foiled for want only of one single point fixed in its right place ? So liable to error is human frailty ! so short-sighted is the keenest eye ! and so narrow and confin'd is the most comprehensive understanding !

* “ Sed postquam in Hispania Hercules, sicut Afri putant, interiit : exercitus ejus compositus ex gentibus variis, amisso duce, ac passim multis sibi quisque imperium petentibus, brevi dilabatur.”

This is the sentence at length : and I perceive learned men have given themselves no small trouble, tho' indeed to little purpose, in reconciling it to the rules of common syntax. And yet what can be more easy, if we thus supply what is certainly to be understood ? *Multis (sibi quisque scilicet petebat) imperium petentibus*. This I take to be the right way to account for it. One sentence, wherein stronger affirmation is made, respecting each individual, in a short succinct form of speaking, is included in another.

But if this be thought so difficult a question, as to have the ablest grammarian in *England* called upon to clear it ; what shall we say to this construction in *Livy*, *Raptim quibus quisque poterat elatis* ; which I take to be much more knotty and intricate ? 'Tis in his first book, where he is describing the ruins of *Alba*. Here, if I mistake not, we have a pure *Attick* idiom brought to *Rome* ; the relative and antecedent being joined in the same case. In plain language fully expressed, it ought to have been, *Raptim iis, quæ quisque poterat efferre, elatis*.

These constructions I look upon as pleasing irregularities, or fond innovations, what the *Greeks* call σχήματα καινοπρεπείας, at first forwardly introduced, and afterwards by use and custom established. Of this nature are, *Cui nomen Iulo*, and *Lactea nomen erat*, and such like ; thought, no question, to be beauties, like *moles* in a fair face.

selfe : who, at the pitch of threescore yeares, in the middes of the broyle betwixt *Cæsar* and *Pompei*, when he knew not whither to send wife and children, which way to go, where to hide himselfe ; yet in an earnest letter, amongst his earnest counsels for those heavie tymes, concerning both the common state of his contrey, and his own private affaires, he was neither unmyndfull, nor ashamed to reason at large, and learne gladlie of *Atticus*, a lesse point of grammer, than these be, noted of me in *Saluste* : * as whether he should write *ad Piræea*, in *Piræea*, or, in *Piræum*, or, *Piræum*, *sine Præpositione*. And in those heavie tymes he was so carefull to know this small point of grammar, that he addeth these wordes, *Si hoc mihi ζήτημα persolveris, magna me molestia liberâris*.

If *Tullie*, at that age, in that authoritie, in that care for his contrey, in that jeopardie for himselfe, and extreme necessitie of hys dearest frendes, being also the prince of eloquence hymselfe, was not ashamed to descend to these low pointes of grammer in his owne naturall tonge ; what should scholers do ? yea what should any man do, if he do think well doying better than ill doying, and had rather be perfite than meane, sure than doutfull ; to be what he should be, in deed ; and not seem what he is not, in opinion ? He that maketh perfites in the *Latin* tonge his marke, must come to it by choice and certain knowledge, not stumble upon it by chance and doutfull ignorance. And the right steppes to reach unto it be these, linked thus orderlie together, aptnes of nature, love of learnyng, diligence in right order, constancie with pleasant moderation, and alwayes to learne of them that be best ; and so shall you judge as they that be wisest. And these be those rules which worthie

* “ Venio ad Piræea, in quo magis reprehendendus sum, quòd homo Romanus *Piræea* scripserim, non *Piræum*, (sic enim omnes nostri locuti sunt) quam quòd *in* addiderim. “ Non enim hoc ut oppido præposui, sed ut loco : & tamen Dionysius noster, qui est nobiscum, & Nicias Cous non rebatur, oppidum esse Piræea, sed de re videro. Nostrum quidem si est peccatum, in eo est, quod non, ut de oppido locutus sum, sed ut de loco ; fecutusque sum, non dico Cæcilium, *Mque ut ex portu in Piræum* ; (malus enim auctor Latinitatis est) sed Terentium, cujus fabellæ propter elegantiam putabantur à C. Lælio scribi : “ *Heri aliquot adolescentuli coimus in Piræum*. ” (’Tis much better in the editions of *Terence*, in Piræeo) “ & idem, *Mercator hoc addebat, captam è Sunio*. Quod si ὄψις oppida esse volumus ; tam est oppidum Sunium, quàm Piræeus. Sed, quoniam grammaticus es, si hoc mihi ζήτημα persolveris, magna me molestia liberâris.”

Mr. *Cheke* dyd impart unto me concerning *Saluste*, and the right judgement of the *Latin* tonge.

C Æ S A R.

Cæsar, for that little of him, that is left unto us, * is like the halfe face of a *Venus*, the other part of the head being hidden, the bodie and the rest of the members unbegun; yet so excellentlie done by *Apelles*, as all men may stand still to maze and muse upon it; and no man step forth with any hope to performe the like.

His seven bookes *de Bello Gallico*, and three *de Bello Civili*, be written so wiselie for the matter, so eloquentlie for the tonge, that neither his greatest enemies could ever finde the least note of parcialitie in him, (a marvelous wisdom of a man, namely wryting of his own doynges) nor yet the best judgers of the *Latin* tonge, nor the most envious lookers upon other mens wrytinges, can say any other, but all thinges be most perfittlie done by him.

Brutus, *Calvus*, and *Calpidius*, † who found fault with *Tullies* fulnes in wordes and matter, and that rightlie; for *Tullie* did both confesse it, and mend it: yet in *Cæsar* they neither did, nor could finde the like, or any other faulte.

And therefore thus justlie I may conclude of *Cæsar*, that whereas in all other, the best that ever wrote in any tyme, or in any tonge, in *Greke* or *Latin*, (I except neither *Plato*, *Demosthenes*, nor *Tullie*) some fault is justlie noted; in *Cæsar* onelie could never yet fault be found.

* “ Accedit eodem testis locuples Posidonius, qui etiam scribit in quadam epistola, Pub. Rutilium Rufum dicere solere, qui Panætium audierat, ut nemo pictor esset inventus, qui Coæ Veneris eam partem, quam Apelles inchoatam reliquisset, absolveret: (oris enim pulchritudo reliqui corporis imitandi spem auferebat) sic ea, quæ Panætius prætermisisset, & non perfecisset, propter eorum, quæ perfecisset, præstantiam, neminem esse persecutum.” *Cic. de Offic. lib. 3.*

† “ Satis constat ne Ciceroni quidem obrectatores defuisse, quibus inflatus et tumens, nec satis pressus, supra modum exultans et superfluens et parum Atticus videretur.” *Dialogus de Oratoribus.*

Yet

Yet neverthelesse, for all this perfite excellencie in him, yet it is but one member of eloquence, and that but of one side neither; when we must looke for that example to follow, which hath a perfite head, a whole bodie, forward and backward, armes and legges and all.

THUS are we come to the end of what is left us on this subject, by this truly learned and ingenious writer; whose excellent judgment and abilities seem little inferiour to the ablest masters of antiquity: and had he lived to have perfected, what is here but a rough draught, at best, an unfinished work; I much question, whether any rhetorician, either *Greek* or *Roman*, would have been of more use in the study of oratory, or deserved greater esteem of learned men. But here I must add his own similitude, and compare him, as he did *Cæsar*, to the inimitable face of the *Coan Venus*, drawn by the hand of *Apelles*; unhappily left imperfect, and ever so to remain, for want of an able artist of equal skill, to give it its just beauty, and to add some little colouring, and ornament, which seem defective.

In order to make the piece complete, as I think, a full and distinct character of *Tully*, together with a whole chapter about Declamation, or the constant exercise and practice of invention, is still wanting. *Tully* by our author is joined with *Varro*, *Salluste*, and *Cæsar*, as the most unexceptionable writers of the purest age, and best patterns for imitation. And how comes he, whom Mr. *Ascham* chiefly admires, when the other three are so largely described, to be passed over in silence? And yet this he seems to promise, p. 323, in these words: *But of Cicero more fully in fitter place*: unless we say, he reserved this for his *Latin* work; which doth not seem probable. Again, p. 267, Mr. *Ascham* tells us, *there are six ways appointed for the learning of tongues, and increase of eloquence*, which he designs particularly to treat of. Declamation is the last there mentioned, and yet we have not one word about it.

But if any one is not yet satisfied with what I say, Mr. *Ascham's* letter to his friend *Sturmius* of *Straßburgh*, printed at the end of this treatise, wherein he gives a full account of his Schole-master, will sufficiently convince him. In one place, he modestly desires leave of his friend, to make use of the same instance out of *Tully*, for a farther illustration of the argument in hand, as he had done before him. And afterwards, near the end of the same letter, he earnestly entreats *Sturmius* to send him with all speed what he had lately writ on the same subject; that his Schole-master, as yet almost naked and unsightly, might thence receive some better dress, before he appeared in publick. But these passages being no where to be found in this treatise before us, prove beyond exception, that as excellent as this work is, yet it was designed for farther improvements, and greater perfection, had the author enjoyed a longer life.

This is what I thought necessary to acquaint the reader with, before I took my leave of him; not doubting in the least of his candour and ingenuity, either towards the author, or myself: nor have I any thing more to add, but an earnest recommendation (if that is still necessary) of this little work, in itself almost invaluable, to the careful perusal and study of all young gentlemen, for whose use it was at first designed, and is now published.

The ENDE of the SCHOLE MASTER.



C A M B D E N U S.

Penultimus * hujus anni dies (Digressiunculæ in boni viri memoriam ignoscite) ultimus erat Rogero Aschamo, qui in Eboracensi Comitatu natus, et Cantabrigiæ educatus, inter primos nostræ nationis, literas Latinas et Græcas, stilique puritatem cum eloquentiæ laude, excoluit: Elizabethæ studiis aliquamdiu præfuit, eidemque reginæ ab epistolis erat Latinis. Cum tamen aleâ et Alectryomachiâ plus nimio oblectaretur, re tenui vixit et obiit, relictis duobus libris, elegantissimis ingenii monumentis linguâ vernaculâ, quorum alterum *Toxophilum*, alterum *Scholar-cham* inscripsit.

* 1568.

R O G E R O A S C H A M O A N G L O,
G. B U C H A N A N U S.

Aschamum extinctum patriæ Grajæque Camenæ,
Et Latiae vera cum pietate dolent.
Principibus vixit carus, jucundus amicis,
Re modica, in mores dicere fama nequit.

J O A N-

JOANNI STURMIO

ROGERUS ASCHAMUS

S. P. D.

Gratum est, mi *Sturmi*, & mihi per jucundum, quod scribis de *Imitatione Oratoria*, tuis hoc tempore à te dictata. An mihi placitura sit, quæris? Mitte quæso, & quàm primum mitte, quæ dictata sunt: polliceris enim, & ipsa repræsentatione nihil exoptatius, nihil longius mihi existit. Meum judicium præcognoscere vis. Non mihi tantum fumo, mi *Sturmi*, nec consilium libenter interpono. Sed meam de *imitandi ratione*, sive opinionem, quæ levis est, sive desiderationem, quæ permagna est, satis quidem fusè, nimis fortasse audacter, aperiàm. Et hæc mihi cogitanti subinde occurrit, quàm verum illud sit, quod dicitur, *Amicorum omnia esse communia*; non tam commodorum ac fortunæ, ut ego intelligo, mutua munera, quàm animorum & voluntatis eadem studia. Nec magis illa humanitatis & officiorum, quàm nostra hæc doctrinæ & literarum.

Scribis tu de *Imitatione*; & ego nonnihil cogito de eodem argumento: sed tu absolutè eruditus jam, ac viris; ego inchoatè, rudibus adhuc, & pueris: & hoc quidem consilio. Sunt mihi duo filii, *Ægidius*, & *Dudlæus Aschami*. nam *Sturmius Aschamus*, vivit ille quidem, sed nunquam moriturus. Cùm his meis filiis non illustrem fortunæ splendorem promittere possum, aliquem certè doctrinæ cultum illis relinquere ipse cupio. Paro igitur illis *Præceptorem*, non illum foris sumptuosa mercede conducendum, sed rudi à me stilo domi jam delineatum. Formam ejus in duos includo libellos: prior magnam partem ἡθικὸς est; alter disciplinabilis.

Et quia meus hic *Præceptor* non è Græcia, non ex Italia accersitus, sed in hac barbara insula natus, & domi intra parietes meos altus est; propterea barbarè, hoc est Anglicè, loquitur. Sic enim sermo ejus convenienter quidem, & propior & propior horum nostræ gentis morum est futurus; & nostris, non alienis; Anglis, non exteris scribo. Præterea officio, quod patriæ, quod literis, utriusque in me merito, jure quidem debeo, aliqua ex parte defunctus fuero; si hoc meo studio, studium in parentibus liberaliter fovendi, in eorum liberis alacriter discendi literas, possit nonnihil excitari.

Sed est *Præceptor* hic meus non Cantabrigienfis, sed Vindeforius: Aulicus, non Academicus. Ideoque non illustriorem aliquam ostendat doctrinam; sed mediocrem, & nonnullum, quoad potest, ostendit usum. Neque tamen ipse sum tam nostræ linguæ inimicus, quin sentiam illam omnium ornamentorum, cùm dictionis, tum sententiarum admodum esse capacem; & esse item hoc argumentum non tam aridum, & exile, quin Anglicè etiam ἀνθηρογραφείσθαι possit; si in artificem aliquem, qualis fuit Checus noster, & sunt adhuc apud nos, Smithus, & Haddonus, incidisset. At si quid fortasse boni in hoc tamen libello inerit, illud omne tibi, mi *Sturmi*, acceptum est referendum. quæ enim scribo, studui certè ut essent omnia Sturmiana. Et volo quidem, ut filii mei, per hoc à patre rudi more congestum, et perquam humile vestibulum, in illustre illud, & omni artificio perpolitum, Sturmii Gymnasium ingrediantur. Exstabit tamen aliquid, & eminens erit, in hoc meo Σχολαστήριον, perpetuum nimirum perpetui mei & in te amoris, & de te judicii testimonium.

Præceptor igitur hic meus satis habet, si viam rectè muniat, & quasi per certos gradus, facilem paret adscensum ad sublimiores illas rite aperiendas fores Academicæ Sturmianæ. Gradus

duos sunt hi : primus, Linguarum Versio ; non dico simplicem explicationem ignotæ linguæ quæ in scholis quotidiana est, & ore præceptoris solum traditur : sed iteratam, & quasi reciprocantem duarum linguarum, utriusque utrobique vertendarum rationem. Nimirum ut Græca Latine, & tum ut eadem ipsa Latina Græcè denuo convertantur ; iuxta commentationem, & diligenti Descriptione cum proprio, non alieno stilo, semper adhibita. Et sic ego intelligo utile illud imprimis, & prudens consilium cum L. Crassi in *primo de Oratore*, tum Plinii Secundi ad suum Fuscum in septimo. Atque vix credibile est, ad quàm excellentem cum Latine tum Græcè intelligendi facultatem, ipse Divam nostram Elizabetham, hac geminata conversionis ratione, scripto semper reddita, brevi tempore perduxit.

Sequuntur reliqui gradus ; *Paraphrasis, Metaphrasis, Epitome, Imitatio, Commentatio, Scriptio, & Declamatio*. Per hos gradus Præceptor meus cautius & timidiùs, porrecta sua nonnunquam manu, discipulos suos deducit. Sunt enim hi gradus nonnihil lubrici ; & facilis in illis est prolapsio, ni cautio & iudicium adhibeatur. At quo feror ? Næ ego temere nimis, qui, cum faciem tantum *Præceptoris mei* tibi ostendere volui ; non solum cætera membra aperio & explico, sed interiora illa ejus consilia & sensus omnes, nec prudenter, nec pudenter effero. Sed quid, ni planè ac palam omnia ad te ? Accipe igitur, quod dicere institui etiam de Imitatione.

In loco de Imitatione longiusculus est *Præceptor meus*. Fatetur se omnes fere & veteres & recentes, qui de Imitatione scripsere, cupide perlegisse. Probare se multos, admirari verò neminem, præter unum Sturmium. Aliqui certè rectè, qui sint imitandi ; sed quomodo instituenda sit ipsa imitandi ratio, solus docet Sturmius. Itaque, si cum illa perfectione præceptorum, quæ in *Literata tua Nobilitate, & Amissa dicendi Ratione*, plenissimè tradita sunt, copiam etiam exemplorum conjunxisses ; quid præterea requirendum esset amplius, non video. Namque, ut in vitæ & morum, sic in doctrinæ & studiorum ratione omni, longe plus possent exempla, quàm præcepta. In illarum verò rerum sive arte, sive facultate, quæ sola imitatione perfici videntur ; præcepta, aut nullum, aut perexiguum habent locum ; cum exempla isthuc vel solitaria planè regnant. Pictores, sculptores, scriptores hoc, & prudenter intelligunt, & perfectè præstant.

Atque ut Oratores etiam in horum numero collocem, movet nonnulla ratio ; jubet, quæ illa est Quinctiliani auctoritas ; qui dicit, Ciceronem, (nec Cicero de se hoc ipse tacet) jucunditatem Isocratis, copiam Platonis, vim Demosthenis effinxisse. & *effingere*, in imitatione nec ne propriam sedem habeat, omnes vident. Verum enimvero ostendere, & judicare solum, ubi hoc facit Cicero, mediocris diligentia, vulgaris & quotidiani est laboris. Hoc Perizonius, Victorius, Stephanus, & alii in Cicerone : hoc Macrobius, Hessus, & nuper diligentissimè omnium Fulvius Ursinus, in Virgilio : hoc accuratè etiam Clemens Alexandrinus, quinto *Στραμάτων* in veteribus Græcis scriptoribus attentavit. Sed hi omnes perinde sunt, ut operarii & bajuli ; qui, cum comportent materiam, deesse certè in opere faciundo non possunt, mercedem tamen ipsi perexiguam, & laudem quidem non maximam promerentur.

Atqui docere perspicuè & perfectè, qua ratione Cicero vel Demosthenem, vel Platonem imitatur, singularis, fateor, doctrinæ, summi iudicii, raræ laudis existit. Sed hæc laus adhuc præceptionis tota propria est. Aliud volo, plus requiro. Opifex nobis, & Architectus opus est, qui separata conjungere, rudia perpolire, & totum opus construere, artificiosa ratione noverit. Et illud, mea certè opinione, hoc modo : “ Hinc Demosthenis locum, illinc Ciceronis produci cupio. Tum, digito Artificis me primùm duci volo ad ea, quæ in “ utroque sunt aut eadem, aut simillima. Deinde, quæ sunt in hoc addita, & quo consilio ; “ tum, quæ sunt ablata, & quo iudicio. Postremò, quæ sunt commutata ; & quo, ac quàm “ vario artificio : sive id in verborum delectu, sive in sententiarum forma, sive in membro- “ rum circumductione, sive in argumentorum ratione consistat. Nec uno, aut altero ex- “ emplo contentus ero. Numero multa, genere varia, ex Platone, ex Isocrate, & Demost- “ hene ; & ex Aristotele in libris Rhetoricis exempla expeto.”

Patior *Præceptorem* parcum esse in præceptorum traditione, modò liberalem se, & largum in exemplorum non solum productione, quod laboris est & diligentia, verum etiam tractatione, quod est doctrinæ et iudicii, ostendat. Horum volumen, illorum paginam ipse requiro.

quiro. Nec mihi molestum erit, si eadem via & ratione, Cæsarem cum Xenophonte, Salustium cum Thucydide, Livium cum Polybio, Virgilium cum Homero, Horatium cum Pindaro, & Senecam etiam cum Sophocle, & Euripide jungat. nisi forsan satius erit facere, quod hi prudenter faciunt, qui perfectè scribere volunt. Hærent enim hi, & defigunt se totos in uno, & eo perfectissimo, exemplo. Nec se, vel distrahi ad varia, vel deduci ad deteriora exempla libenter patiuntur. Tamen si carmen pangere vellem; nihil Virgilio divinius, nihil Horatio doctius mihi possum proponere. Sed ad dicendi facultatem, ipsum Ciceronem si non solum, certè potissimum volo. Et dari mihi exemplum cupio Ciceronem Imitatorem, non Imitatorem Ciceronis.

Equidem amplector unicè Ciceronis imitationem: sed eam dico & primam ordine, & præcipuam dignitate, quâ Cicero ipse Græcos; non quâ Lactantius olim, Omphalius nuper, aut quâ multo felicius quidam Itali, Galli, Lusitani, & Angli Ciceronem sunt secuti. Nam quisquis fuerit non solum diligens, sed etiam cum peritus doctrina, tum prudens judicio observator, quibus vestigiis insistit, & quos gradus facit ipse Cicero, dum Græcos sequitur, assequitur, aut præcurrit; & scienter animadvertit, quibus in locis, & qua ratione hic noster ipsis Græcis plerumque par, sæpiissime superior evadit; is demum tutò, & recta viâ ad imitandum ipsum Ciceronem perveniet. Qui enim intelligenter videt, quomodo Cicero secutus est alios, perspiciet ille longè felicissimè, quomodo ipse Cicero sit sequendus. Et propterea, non possum probare consilium Bartholomæi Riccii Ferrariensis, doctissimi licet viri. qui, cum sic scripserit de recta imitandi ratione, ut, cum à Sturmio discesseris, cæteris omnibus, mea certè opinione, anteposendus sit; (præcepta enim ejus omnia sunt Sturmiana, & ex tuis fontibus hausta, atque derivata) exempla tamen maluit Longolii ex Cicerone, quàm Ciceronis ex Platone sibi proponere; & Virgilii ex Catullo, quàm Virgilii ex Homero producere. Hoc ille, bene quidem, sed non optimè; ad aliquem fructum, non ad eximiam laudem; ad nonnullam mediocritatem, non ad summam perfectionem instituit.

Si verò optarem ipse fieri alter Cicero, (& optare quidem nefas non est) ut fierem, & qua ratione fierem, quem potius ad consilium mihi adhiberem, quàm ipsum Ciceronem? Et, si ipse cuperem eò recta ire, quò Cicero ante felicissimè pervenit, qua meliore via, quàm ipsis ipsius Ciceronis vestigiis insisterem? Habuit ille quidem Romæ Gracchos, Crassos, Antonios, rarissima ad imitandum exempla; sed exempla alia ipse alias quærit. Proprietatem Romanæ linguæ simul cum lacte Romæ, purissima ætate, ex ipso Latinitatis lætissimo flore hausit. Ille tamen sermonem illum Latinum suum divinum, superioribus non cognitum, posteris tam admirabilem, aliunde sumpsit; & alio modo quàm Latino usu, quàm Latina institutione, & auxit, & aluit. Ille enim sermo non in Italia natus est, sed è Græcorum disciplina in Italiam traductus. Nec satis habuit Cicero, ut lingua ejus proprietate domestica casta esset, & ornata; nisi mens etiam Græcorum eruditione prudens efficeretur, & docta. Unde evenit, ut sola Ciceronis oratio inter reliquos omnes Romanos, qui illi ætate aut superiores, aut æquales, aut suppres fuere, non colore solum vernaculo purè tincta, sed raro & transmarino quodam plenè imbuta, tam admirabiliter resplenderet.

Itaque, cum ipsa lingua Latina, felicissimo suo tempore, in ipsa Roma, in ipso Cicerone, ad summam perfectionem sine Græca lingua non pervenit; cur quisquam in sola Latina quærit, quod Cicero ipse absque Græca non invenit? Et, cum nos sumus nec feliciores ingenio, nec prudentiores judicio, quàm ipse Cicero fuit; cur temere speramus assequi, quod ille non potuit? Cur imprudenter contendimus eam viam inire, qua ipse insistere noluit? præsertim cum hunc solum, aut hunc potissimum, tanquam summum ducem, sequendum esse ducimus. Et in re literaria, cum Ciceronis imprimis probamus judicium, cur ejus repudiaremus consilium? Cum prudenter illum de hac re semper dixisse, cur illum in eadem re rectè fecisse non ingenuè fateamur? Nisi forsan Cicero ipse, judicio quidem prudens, aliis tamen & inutilis consilio, & ineptus exemplo planè esse videatur.

Itaque quemadmodum perspicuè cognoscimus, quid Cicero de hac re prudenter sæpe statuit, constanter semper docuit: ita nos libenter sequamur, quod ipse in eadem re felicissimè fecit. Quas igitur Cicero linguas sibi re ipsa utiliter, aliis exemplo prudenter conjunxit: absit, ut nos vel separemus illas, quod est rudis imperitiæ; vel repudiemus alteram, quod est superbæ imprudentiæ.

imprudentiæ. Nam in hac florere sine illa, cum summa aliqua laude, tam facile continget, quam sæpe usu eveniet, ut avis una alâ cum pernitate volare, aut vir uno pede cum velocitate currere possit. Ex omni enim seculorum memoria, sive ex lectione, sive ex auditione, sive ex notitia, commemorare habeo solum unum aut alterum, qui absque Græcis literis, ad eximiam eloquentiæ laudem, in Latina lingua pervenerunt. Sed quemadmodum par est, ut hos homines admiremur, ita tutum non est, ut eosdem imitemur. Eos ex animo suspicio, et illis libenter gratulor hanc suam raram felicitatem. Sed aliis non sum auctor, ut vel parem sperent laudem, vel eandem sequantur rationem. Si non alio, hoc certè nomine, quod Cicero hac via insistere, aut prudenter ipse noluit, aut frustra cum multis tentare non sit ausus. “Sed ait quis, Rectè quidem Cicero; nam ante eum, nemo fuit præter Græcos, ad imitationem proponendus. Sed nunc habemus ipsum Ciceronem, eum quidem, cum universa Græcia, & cum singulo quoque Græcorum, in ea eloquentiæ laude qua maxime quisque floruit, comparandum. Cur igitur non Ciceronem solum mihi, variis illis Græcis relictis, ad imitandum proponerem?”

Aliquid est, quod dicis. Ipse enim Ciceronem præcipuè imitandum volo; sed tuta via, sed recta ratione, suo ordine, suo loco. Et rationem meam, cur hoc volo, & quomodo hoc volo, apertè ostendam. Primum, si optarem ipse, alter fieri Cicero, quod ante dixi, qua ratione potius fierem, quàm ea ipsa, quâ ipse Cicero factus est Cicero? Hanc viam, certam, cognitam, & expeditam esse, optimus testis est ipse Cicero. Itaque cùm gressus nostri rectè & solidè firmati erunt, in hac ipsa via, qua prævit Cicero ad alios; sic, ut omnes ejus & abditos recessus, & varia diverticula, & difficiles anfractus, perfectè cognoscamus; tum tutò quidem, & feliciter etiam, duce ipsa Minerva, nostram ad Ciceronem viam muniamus. Et hoc quidem modo, ut ante dixi, si illustriora exempla, numero multa, genere varia, è Cicerone selecta, ubi ille optimos Græcos imitatur, per insignem aliquem artificem non solum, ut quidam faciunt, diligenter indicata, sed, ut Sturmius docet, eruditè explicata fuerint.

Et hæc est illa via, mea certè opinione, quâ ad Ciceronis imitationem rectâ pergendum est. Non, quomodo Riccius ostendit Longolium fecisse, (hoc est, ut ipse putat, excellenti ratione; ut ego existimo, valde laudabiliter; ut multi sentiunt, mediocriter, & tolerabiliter; ut * Erasmus, & Paulus Manutius judicant, ineptè, frigidè, & pueriliter) sed qua ratione Sturmius Ciceronem imitandum esse, & præceptis in *Literata Nobilitate* perfectè docet, & exemplis in *Quintiana Explicatione* insigniter ostendit.

Et hoc in loco, opportunè mihi in mentem venit insignis ille in Quintiana locus; nimirum, † *Etenim si veritate amicitia, fide societas, &c.* Quæ sententia bis est à te, mi Sturmi, mirabili imitationis artificio expressa, primum, in *Amissa dicendi Ratione*; postea, in ipsa *Explicatione Quintiana*. In utroque loco eandem orationis formam, diversis quidem in rebus, sed varia tractatione elegantissimè effinxisti. “*Præceptor meus* à me petit timidè quidem & “verecundè, rogem ut ipse te, tua pace, ut illi liceat, in suo Commentariolo, hac duplici “tua unius loci Ciceronis insigni imitatione, pro exemplo abuti. Et spondeo ipse pro eo, “illum hoc cum honorifica de te, & amabili mentione facturum.”

Sed quorsum tantopere, mi Sturmi, laboramus de imitatione? cùm non desunt, qui docti & prudentes videri volunt, qui imitationem, vel nullam esse putant, vel nihil prorsus æstimaunt, vel omnem temerè permiscent, vel eam totam, quæcunque sit, cujuscunque sit, ut servilem & puerilem repudiant. Sed hi sunt & inertes, & imperiti, laborem fugiunt, artem nesciunt. Qui cùm naturæ omnia falso judicio tribuunt; eandem tamen, optimis suis præfidiis iniquo consilio spoliunt; & res semper conjungendas, magna temeritate, extrema imprudentia distrahunt. Artis enim & naturæ diffidium faciunt, quicunque casu, non delectu, fortuitò non observatione, in literarum studiis versantur. Isti idem sentiunt de eleganti illa eloquentiæ parte, quæ in numerorum ratione collocata est. illam enim aut nullam esse volunt, aut inanem omnem judicant. Et aurium sensum cum artificioso & intelligenti animi judicio,

* Vide Erasmi *Ciceronianum*.

† Etenim si veritate amicitia, fide societas, pietate propinquitias colitur; necesse est, qui amicum, socium, affinem, fama ac fortunis spoliare conatus est, vanum se, et perfidiosum, et impium esse fateatur. *Orat. pro P. Quintio, sect. 6.*

nihil commercii habere existimant. Quem tamen doctrinae locum, (id quod isti aut imperitè nesciunt, aut superbè contemnunt) principes illi in omni doctrina viri, Aristoteles, Demetrius, Halicarnasseus, Hermogenes, Cicero, Quintilianus, Sturmius tanto studio perpoliverunt, ut in nullà alià re accuratius elaborasse videantur.

Sed illos in sua, sive imperita desidia, sive superba imprudentia, relinquamus : et hos alteros nos amemus, atque sequamur. Qui cùm fuerint optima natura ornati, esse item voluere sic doctrina exculti, ut ipsi non magis naturæ beneficio adjuti, quàm artis præsidio muniti ; nec magis ingenio felices, quàm judicio prudentes, semper habiti sint.

Et hæc mihi de imitandi ratione cogitanti gravis sæpe subit dolor, ob amissos illos libros Dionysii Halicarnassei, quos doctissimè & fusissimè scripsit de Imitatione & Oratoria, & Historica. Quos libros ipse Dionysius in eo Commentario, quo suum judicium de universa historia Thucydidis, quid in ea vel tutò imitandum, vel cautè declinandum sit, eruditè, prudenter, & plenè explicat, cæteris suis libris omnibus anteponit. Sed interim omnes docti plurimum debent cùm Andree Dudithio Pannonio, tum tuo Paulo Manutio, quòd nuper hunc eruditum Commentarium, alter Latinè doctissimè vertit, (Græca enim non vidi) alter typis elegantissimè excudit. Nam in eo libro sic omnes Thucydidis virtutes & vitia, & diligenter collegit, & liberè exposuit ; ut quicquid in eo, sive in verborum delectu, sive in sententiarum forma & constructione, sive in rerum judicio & tractatione, vel prædicabile ad ejus laudem, vel vituperabile ad similium devitationem scriptum est ; id omne & planè & plenè ab Halicarnasseo demonstretur. Tanta enim ejus est in singula congerendo diligentia, in considerando doctrina, in ponderando judicium ; ut si ipse jam revivisceret Thucydides, credo equidem, non se ipse melius noscere, non de se aut rectius, aut æquius statuere potuerit. De imitatione Historica doctius, aut accuratius quicquam, credo nondum existit.

Et quoties ego hunc lego Commentarium, (quod sæpe quidem & libenter facio) toties in hanc sententiam adducor, ut planè ipse existimem, neminem, nec Græcum, nec Latinum majori facultate ad scribendam historiam unquam venisse, quàm Dionysium Halicarnasæum : præsertim, si ad tantam diligentiam, & judicii præstantiam accessit etiam, Augusti beneficio, totus & tantus ille Thesaurus Bibliothecæ M. Varronis. Si forsan hunc librum, mi Sturmii, Halicarnassei de historia Thucydidis, aliis rebus occupatus nondum legeris, rogo ut meo rogatu legas. Et scribas quæso, an sensus tuus cum mea opinione de hoc libro consentiat, necne. Fatetur etiam ipse in eodem libro, se pari ratione de Imitatione Demosthenica, & alterum librum de civili Philosophia scripsisse. Utinam illi exstarent libri ; mente enim quasi jam præcipio, tales libros à tanto viro scriptos, omnibus eruditionis & prudentiæ præceptis, quantum ad civilem cognitionem attinet, plenè abundavisse.

Hæ cogitationes de Imitatione, & illa mentio ante facta à me de Christophoro Longolio, qui voluit ipse esse, & aliis etiam visus est, insignis Ciceronis imitator, nonnihil me movent, ut quid ipse de ejus facultate, & aliorum de eo opinione sentiam, tibi aperiam. Qui bene de Longolio sentiunt, habent me non repugnantem : quanquam habeo & foris & domi, quos illi anteponam. Budæus amicum immerentem ingrata invidia, in quadam ad Erasmus epistola, nimis acerbè premit. Erasmus apertius insectatur ; & illum ineptè, furaciter, servili & puerili more, nihil præter centones ex Cicerone consuere arguit. id quod ipse credo Erasmus aliquo potius scripsisse stomacho, quàm certo suo statuisse judicio. nam scio, ubi Longolio jam mortuo, non singularem aliquam, sed summam eloquentiæ laudem tribuit. Miror ipse magis quidem, * quid tuo Paulo Manutio in mentem venerit, homini, ut audio, natura humanissimo, & ut video, doctrina excultissimo ; ut is Longolium, vivus mortuum, bonus non malum, eruditus non indoctum, Italus Italicorum delicias, in literis suis ad Stephanum Saulium, etiam in lucem editis, tam acri stilo pungeret.

Quo consilio hoc fecit, nescio : parum humaniter quidem, scio, & an vero judicio, planè dubito. Dicit enim Longolium esse exilem in sententiis, non luculentum in verbis, inopem à Latina lingua, esse prorsus nullum. In eo & judicium requirit, & stultitiam notat. Quanto tu, mi Sturmii, moderatius, humanius, atque prudentius olim ad Ducem Juliacensem ?

* Vide Pauli Manutij Epistolam ad Steph. Saulium Epist. lib. 1. ep. 4.

Ubi, cum de Erasmo & Longolio, & eorum tota controversia gravissimum iudicium dederis, laudem neutri adimis; sed suam utrique ingenuè tribuisti. Atque in eodem loco, ubi Manutius Longolium eousque deicere tantopere laborat, non nihil ipse, mea opinione, labitur. Nam cum eximiam illam suam, & ei, ut ipse scribit, cum paucis communem, augendæ linguæ Latinæ rationem, singulari præconio efferat; nimirum, quod exquisitas sententias de Cicerone excerptas, aliis verbis, quàm poterat lectissimis, ornare consueverat; an non planè ostendit, se malle cum Cn. Carbone in errores abduci, quàm cum L. Crasso recta via insistere; et opinionem Quintiliani, iudicio Ciceronis antepone? Crassus enim & Cicero, non solum majori auctoritate pugnant, sed meliori ratione vincunt, inutilem esse laborem, malo consilio aucupari deteriora, cum recto iudicio optima sunt præcepta; & temere captare vulgaria, cum selectissima scienter sunt occupata.

Gaudeo *Præceptorem meum* loqui Anglicè; ne, cum tam liberè dissentit hac in re à Manutio, tantum hominem offenderet; tamen Manutium non nominat. Nam cum dissentit ab aliquo, hoc tacite; cum laudat quenquam, illud apertè facit. Quanquam si ipse Manutius has literas legeret, non est cur offenderetur. Nemo enim melius, quàm ille novit, Musas ipsas esse non solum candidas, sed etiam prudentes: quæ inter literarum cultores aliquam nonnunquam opinionum dissensionem, & ferunt patienter, & ferunt ipse aliquando non inutiliter: omnem verò animorum distractionem & fieri semper vetant, & esse diu non patiuntur. Itaque Paulum tuum Manutium, meum quoque esse volo: nec sinam, ut eum tu plus diligas, quàm ipse amem. Et quanquam tu loci opportunitate illi propior es, benevolentia tamen studio, & officii etiam repræsentatione, cum usus ferret, ut sis conjunctior, profectò non permittam.

Idem cogito de aliis in Italia clarissimis viris, de Petro Victorio, de Jovita Rapicio, qui eruditè & eleganter de Numero Oratorio scripsit: de Carolo Sigonio, de Joanne Baptista Pigna Ferrariensi, de Petro Bargæo Pisano. Nam quantum Carolo Sigonio omnes docti debent, pro utraque utriusque urbis republica, tanta diligentia, tanta doctrina, tanto orationis lumine explicata; & imperitus, qui non clarè videt, & invidus, qui non ingenuè fatetur, habendus est. Rara vero illa doctrina, & grave etiam illud iudicium, quo Baptista Pigna aureolum Horatii librum de Arte Poetica fusissimè explicuit, magno me commovit desiderio videndi etiam ea, quæ in tres libros Rhetoricos Aristotelis pari ratione conscripsit. in quibus, ut ille ipse scribit, ad artis oratoriæ, ab intelligendi principie optimè traditæ, perfectissima præcepta, ex Græcorum & Latinorum dicendi principum orationibus, ex Ethicis item, Politicis, & Historicis, omnis generis exempla adjunxit. Et quale opus hoc sit, quanquam oculis nondum vidi, animo tamen quàm præclarum illud sit, cum magna voluptate jam præcepi.

Scripsit idem Baptista Pigna, ut ipse testatur, alterum librum, *Quæstiones Sophocleas*: ubi de tota doctrina Tragica, de Senecæ vitiis, de Græcorum Tragicorum virtutibus fusè tractavit. Nec minori hujus libri videndi desiderio teneor, mi Sturmi: quoniam Sophocles & Euripides, mea certè opinione, cum Platone & Xenophonte in omni civilis cognitionis explicatione, conferri possunt: præsertim quod attinet ad eorum mores, consilia, instituta, & eventa, qui in splendore Aulico vitam suam traducunt.

Petrus Angelus Bargæus Pisanus, carmine divino *Κωννηγετῖκὰ* complexus est; nec minus excellit dicendi facultate. Is Scripsit, ut ex ejus scripto, & Manutii testimonio intelligo, doctissimos etiam Commentarios in eruditum illum Demetrii libellum de Elocutione. An hic liber, & illi, quos commemoravi Joannis Baptistæ Pignæ, in lucem prodire, aut sint prodituri, admodum aveo scire. Si homo es, mi Sturmi, hoc meo rogatu, per literas tuas cognosce primo quoque tempore, à Paulo Manutio, qui omnium optimè istud intelligit. Et quid ille respondet, ad me quamprimum perscribas: nihil enim mihi gratius facturum es. Et Manibus Longolii æternam felicitatem exopto, qui mihi hoc à te postulandi occasionem dedit. "Et tibi, mi Sturmi, gratias ingentes ago, quòd de Imitatione Oratoria scribis; quòd mihi mittere polliceris, quæ dictata sunt." Mitte igitur, & quamprimum mitte: ut *Præceptor meus*, qui nunc est ferè nudus, & planè deformis, istinc aliquem elegantiorum mutuans amictum, nonnihil cultius vestitus, & inde superbius factus, in lucem audacius prodeat.

Interim verò cupio à te scire, an Imitatio hoc loco tam latè patere debeat, ut eam etiam exercitationem complectatur, quam nos *Μεταφρασιν* nominamus. Quæ *Μίμνησις* tamen à Platone

Platone in tertio de *Republica* dicitur : ubi ipse Socrates orationem Chryse sacerdotis ex αἰ-
 ἄδος, libero sermone elegantissimè dissolvit. Et cur non appelletur Imitatio, non video ; cum
 videam in eo loco & quædam prudenter ablata, & multa ingeniosè commutata. Idem sentio
 de pari consilio Lucretii Latinissimi poetæ ; qui, diversa ratione insignem illam Thucydidis
 explicationem Pestis, erudito & eleganti carmine illigavit.

At quid facis, mi Aschame, inquis ; quod tu non literas, sed libellum hoc tempore ad me ?
 Quod facio, facio libenter, & cum voluptate, mi Sturm ; præsertim in hac dulci & domestica
 mea, ab omni Aulico negotio otiosa hoc tempore, & libera cessatione ; dum Princeps mea
 nunc longius ab Urbe, non in Musarum sacrario Palladi, (quod reliquo toto anno facit) sed
 inter silvas Dianæ, de more hoc tempore serviat.

Et hæc prolixitas mea, mihi quidem non est molesta, & tibi item spero, non admodum erit
 ingrata. Cum enim mihi nullum in scribendo tædium attulerit, ne tibi magnum in legendo
 fastidium sit paritura, non valdè pertimesco. Et si nihil aliud, hoc certè efficiam ; ut tu cer-
 tò intelligas, hoc longo silentio meo, meum erga te amorem minimè esse diminutum. Intel-
 liges præterea, quod adhuc etiam de literarum studiis nostrarum in me resideat eadem cogita-
 tio, licet non par facultas, quæ tum fuit, cum ego primum, D. Bucerii hortatu, literas illas
 prolixas ad te dedèrim : quas tu peramice quidem, amoris nostri mutui publicas testes esse
 voluisti.

Nunc verò fructus ille otii nostri Academici, qui tibi aliquis tum visus est, ita jam omnis
 in hoc negotio Aulico quotidie languescit, & eo indies, tanquam vinum fugiens, paulatim
 decedit ; ut planè verear, tuo ne iudicio prorsus exaruisse videatur. Itaque peropportuna est
 mihi dulcis illa & perambilis tua mecum expositio ; cum me vocas, festivè tu quidem, sed
 nimis verè, hominem desidiosum : & cum amanter postulas, ut nos ipsi nostram multorum
 annorum intermissam scriptionem revocemus, & nos inter nos mutuis crebrò literis salutemus,
 atque consolemur.

De mea vero diutina taciturnitate, nihil dico ; nec veniam valdè peto, nec excusationem
 admodum quæro : quam licet justam & probabilem adferre possim, uti tamen illa nolo ; ne
 ipsa esset mihi quidem molesta, & tibi non lætabilis. Verum ne tu in hoc meo desidioso
 silentio nimium triumphes ; quanquam ipse in hoc scribendi officio commendationem tibi
 magnam libenter tribuo, mihi verò nullam sumo ; tamen sic tecum jure possum contendere.
 Tu literarum multarum numero, ego unius magnitudine : tu variis schedulis, ego hoc volu-
 mine : tu sententiarum pondere, ego verborum cumulo : tu erudita brevitate, ego loquacitate
 rudi : tu amoris crebra declaratione, ego benivolentiæ perpetuo studio : sic uterque nitimur,
 ut tu me, an ego te, in hac contentione superem, non multum quidem laborem.

Nicolai Udalli carmen hendecasyllabum ad libellum suum.

SI certum est tibi, pertinax libelle,
 In multas hominum manus venire,
 Doctorumque libet subire nasum,
 Sannas, verbera, jurgium, cachinnos ;
 Per me sit tibi liberum vagari.
 I, quocunque voles, tuo periculo.
 Securus poteras domi latere,
 Et mecum poteras manere tutus.
 Nunc es publicus, haud meus libellus ;
 Nec possum tibi jam patrocinari,
 Nec Suffragia, gratiamque vulgi,
 Aut vitam geniumque polliceri.
 Orbis sed tibi, multitudinisque
 Standum iudicio, vel est cadendum.

Episto-

Epistola nuncupatoria.

Nicolaus Udallus suavissimo discipulorum suorum gregi salutem plurimam dicit.

Quamquam initio quidem, ut ingenuè fatear, non meâ voluntate ad hanc docendi provinciam capeffendam inductus, sed partim assiduis eisdemque importunissimis amicorum quorundam sollicitationibus efflagitationibusque compulsus, partim nescio quo meo fato protulutus videri poteram; nunc tamen, postquam egregia quorundam vestrum indoles luculentam sanè minimèque dubitatam spem ostendit, fore aliquando, ut ad insignem aliquam eruditionem evadatis, tantum abest, ut me instituti cœptique pœniteat, ut nihil profectò hodie prius habeam, aut antiquius. Quapropter, *quam sorte natus sum Spartam, orna-e* (prout Græcorum proverbium admonet) mihi proposui, planèque constitutum habeo, superis bene juvantibus, in hanc gnaviter curam incumbere, insigniterque in eo elaborare, ut vos ex immanissimis barbarici faucibus quamprimum eripiam, atque ex tenebrosa abstrusaque inscitiae caligine vindicem, ad politioris literaturæ puritatem, lucem, claritudinem.

Nec dici me herculé potest, quanto desiderio flagrem, quantaque quum omnium, qui literis sunt dediti, tum vestris, duntaxat honestis et rectis, studiis proficiendi, cupiditate ardeam. Jam inde enim ab eo tempore, quo in meam vos Scholam et disciplinam recepi, parentis erga vos animum induisse me fateor; semperque existimasse in eorundem me locum succedere, à quibus traditi mihi ad instituendum estis. Quod cum ita sit, ut est, quàm mihi rem gratam et jucundam, quàm porro lætabilem et gloriosam putatis fore; si vos aliquando ad eas in disciplina vires accrescere, et pervenire videro, ut exuperatis evictisque istis grammaticarum præceptionum, et rudimentorum difficultatibus, ac velut salebris, ad jucundissimam, eandemque multò uberrimi fructus Latinorum authorum lectionem studium transferre valeatis.

Ad hanc autem maturitatem cum animadverterem non aliâ demum ratione perveniri posse, nisi si quis in promptu jam ante, et ad manum habeat bonam atque adeo divitem Latini sermonis suppellectilem; sedulò equidem mihi faciendum putavi, ne vobis deesset, unde ea potissimè facultas parari possit, et Latini sermonis copia, puritas, nitor, elegantia nullo, aut certe quàm minimo negotio perdisci.

Scripsi itaque vobis, suavissimi tyrunculi, quasdam Latinè loquendi formulas, ad quotidiani sermonis usum et copiam sanè quam accommodatissimas. Eas vero ex *Publii Terentii* potissimum comœdiis delegimus; quod is scriptor ad informandam instruendamque linguam puerilem maximè omnium idoneus, citraque controversiam facilè princeps videatur; utpote per quem, ipsum Ciceronem, summum alioqui Latinitatis magistrum, ad tantum eloquentiæ fastigium profecisse constet: id quod quum ipsemet de se fatetur alicubi, imò potius gloriatur, tum scripta ejus ubique tantum non clamant. Porro Latina ipse Anglicè interpretatus sum, quò vos quoque Latina vernaculè, aut è contrario Latinè vernacula absque molestia vel negotio, et cum aliqua ratione ac gratia, nec interim ineptis prorsus atque absurdis, quod plerique faciunt, sed apposis et accommodata verbis reddere addiscatis.

Neque verò putetis velim, nullum esse operæ pretium, si quis Latina aptè in maternum vertere sermonem calleat. Nam si Cicero quædam ex Græcis tam poetis, quàm oratoribus, ac philosophis Latinè interpretando, quæ in suos referret libros, operæ pretium existimare se fecisse non nusquam gloriatur; si Terentius plus sibi laudis statuit, majoremque gloriam posuit in vertendis Græcorum antiquis fabulis, quàm inveniendis suis novis; si idem Terentius rem nihilo minus ingeniosam arbitratus est, ex bonis Græcis bona Latina facere, quàm si ipse de suo nova excogitasset, quæ scriberet, et posteris legenda traderet; si denique ingenii argumentum, et non postremæ laudis opus existimatur, bona vernacula sic verbis Latinis mutare, ut
interim

interim servetur utriusque linguae idiotismus et gratia; quâ minus id quoque è diverso maximæ laudi dari par sit, et vel summi artificis opus haberi conveniat, ex bonis Latinis scilicet reddere bona vernacula?

Verum ut redeam, quò cœpi tendere, nec iusto diutius in his hæream, imò consilii vobis factique mei rationem compendio expediam; addidi, sicubi opus id esse videbatur, quædam velut Scholia, quibus tum sensus poetæ explicetur, tum verba ipsa non paulo declarentur apertius. Si qua insignis aut elegans incidit Metaphora, indicavi: si qua figura occurrit, admonui: si qua fabula intervenit, non sum gravatus altiusculè repetitam narrare: si quid, quod ad Latinitatem egregiè faceret, sese obtulit, non commisi, ut præteriretur silentio: si quid ad rationem grammaticam pertinere visum est, non piguit enucleare: si quid proverbii interspersum est, exposui: si quod vocabulum obscurius judicatum est, illustravi: si qua formula à communi vulgarique et usitata Latine loquendi ratione paulo alienior apparuit, rationem reddidi, citatis, ubi res posceret, atque adhibitis, ex optimis quibusque et probatissimis authoribus, exemplis ac testimoniis. Denique, ut finem tandem faciam, quicquid usquam objectum est, quod puerile ingenium iudiciumve retardare in legendo posse videretur, quantumvis id humile foret aut leve, sedulò adnotavi; vestris scilicet studiis quàm optime consultum cupiens, omnibusque omnium vestrum commodis nusquam non libentissimè deserviens.

Proinde hæc quidem, quæ commemoravi omnia, pingui, quod dicitur, crassaque ac rudi Minerva tradidi, et vereor, ne quorundam opinione, iudicio sententiæque, nimis etiamnum anxie, nimis scrupulosè, nimis denique, ut ita loquar, frustulatim persecutus sim, utique dum singula ad iudicii vestri immaturitatem, et captûs teneritudinem attempero. Sed nimis quàm mihi, in hoc duntaxat negotio, placuit illud, quod dici solet, *indoctius modò apertius*; præsertim cùm scirem quàm maximè opus esset, nil, nisi velut præmansum, vobis in os inferi.

Porro ipsum opusculum *Flores Terentii* libuit inscribere, quoniam hæ formulæ, quas vobis jam nuncupamus, ex ejus poetæ lepidissimis juxta atque elegantissimis comoediis, quasi horto quodam fragrantissimo, et ad miraculum vario, amœnoque topiario, ordine omnes selectæ sunt et excerptæ. His igitur laborum nostrorum quasi primitiis fruimini, tanquam arrhabone ac pignore tum nostri erga vos summi amoris, tum officii ac fidei.

Quod si prodesse hæc, conducereque vestris studiis intellexerimus, alia, favente Christo, dabimus propediem altiora atque majora. Vestræ autem partes erunt, suavissimi tyrones, omni, quod aiunt, pede stare, omnibus ingenii nervis contendere, ac modis omnibus curare, ne nostros sudores laboresque frustremini, neve nostrum hoc tantum oleum et operam eludatis, sed potius ut conceptæ de vobis tum spei, tum expectationi, possitis per omnia respondere. Valete.

Londini ex cœnobio Monachorum ordinis Divi Augustini pridie calendas Martias,
anno post natum Christum 1534.

C. GUAL-

D. GUALTERI HADDONI

ORATIO

ad pueros Ætonenses.

Magnam locus admonitionis vim habet; suavissimi pueri: Nam hæc ipsa cernens, quondam mea, nunc vestra studiorum incunabula, communium memini vestrarum literarum, et vos amo tenentes illum vitæ cursum, in quo vos ipse sum antegressus. Quales enim vos nunc estis, tales nos olim pueri fuimus; et quales nos jam esse cernitis, tales vos dies viros efficiet. Quapropter si nonnullis in personis, magna vobis occurrunt et memorabilia Scientiarum et morum ornamenta, primùm cognoscite, principiis illōs eisdem esse profectos, quibus vestræ jam ætates fundatæ sunt; deinde collobrate, similis ut progressus vester, et par ad extremum exitus esse possit. Etenim hoc valdè sanè verisimiliter affirmare licet, quod illa, quæ sunt in aliis maxima, nunquam in vobis erunt magna, nisi teneris in his annis vestris cœperint esse aliqua.

Cur autem ad principatum quendam laudis ab hac florentissima Schola contendendum sit, paucula proponam nota familiariter. Jucundior enim domesticarum rerum sermo vobis erit, et facilius in memoriis vestris insidebit. Primum autem et summum est, quod disciplinam habetis perfectissimam, et descriptissimam, per omnes literarum et morum vestrorum partes permeantem. Etenim siue libris occupamini, siue jucunditati vos datis, siue foras progredimini, siue domi vos tenetis, siue precamini, siue vescimini, siue quid aliud agitis, vitæ custodes omnibus in locis dispositos habetis. Omnino vos commovere non potestis, quin statim in aliquam censuræ particulam vestigium ponatis. Omnes loci pleni vobis officiorum vestrorum occurrunt; omnia tempora, imò verò singula temporum momenta, cartam habent vel fructuosi studii rationem, vel honestæ voluptatis oblectationem.

Magna laus et planè summa majorum vestrorum, qui vestræ juventutis exercitationes tam sapienter dispertiverunt. Vos elaborare debetis, ne frustra tam egregia disciplinarum et virtutum adjumenta provisa sint. Quam ad rem crescet in animis vestris ardor et alacritas, si diligenter & attentè recordemini, qui, et unde sitis, quâ spe et expectatione hîc collocati, quem ad finem reservati. Nimirum Regales ii cœtus vestri sunt, Regale semen estis, Regalis familia; quapropter grandes et uberes fructus ferre debetis. Regalibus stipendiis omnes militatis: itaque singularis et excellens in vobis discendi sit assiduitas, ut quantum fuit in munificentia principum admirabilitatis et præstantiæ, tantum in literis vestris esse possit laudis & industriæ.

Nec frustra vobis labores erunt suscepti. Quot etenim respublica dignitatum gradus habet, tot vobis præmia studiorum vestrorum præparata sunt. Et si vobis magnum videtur, aurum & purpuram intueri, servorum greges, instratos equos, possessiones etiam & fundos, & cætera vitæ partim adjumenta, partim ornamenta; scitote vestris scientiis & virtutibus ista, quocunque sunt, & quantacunque sunt, deberi sane omnia. Certè quidem in ipsis istis puerilibus subselliis, Decanos, Collegiorum Præfectos, Jureconsultos, Medicos, Judices, Episcopos etiam & Senatores video. Nunc laborare vos aliquamdiu non pœniteat, paulo post beneficiis & emolumentis, honoribus & ornamentis non solum explebimini, sed etiam accumulabimini.

Si dubitatis, hæc ipsa contemplamini præsentia tempora, quæ majorem vestris studiis honorem exhibuerunt, quam unquam optare ausi estis. Primùm excellentissima Regina (quâ nunquam sol quicquam in terris vidit speciosius, aut omni genere decorum et ornamentorum illuminatius) cum vix adhuc in palatio suo constitisset, poetam ad se vestrum admisit, poema

suscepit;

suscepit, & honorario luculento studia vestra cohonestavit. Deinde Senatûs & nobilitatis flos, hæc literarum vestrarum curricula benignissimè visitavit, & indoles vestras, quantum tempus ferebat, degustavit: ad extremum præmiis vos & laudibus beneficentissimè dimisit. Si capita vos, & lumina reipublicæ, tantum in hac ætatula, propter spem literarum nonnullam, diligunt; quantum literas ipsas in vobis enatas & efflorescentes amabunt, cum viri eritis, & singuli singulis in reipublicæ partibus collocabimini?

Sed fortasse tempus hoc longe vobis abesse videtur. Non profectò; sed adest, aut prope est: volat enim ætas. Interim disciplinis vestris tot reperietis fautores, & virtutibus, quot in Anglia docti reperiuntur & boni. Separatim autem & præcipuè vos curabit indulgentissimus vester præfectus, qui vos amat non secus quàm pater filios, qui vestras commoditates putat suas; qui ne vivere quidem deinceps ipse velit, nisi vos ut eruditissimos videat & optimos. Adstat autem ante oculos Præceptor sanè laudabilis, qui vestras pueritias informat, ipse juvenis, in quo magnum vobis solatium propositum est. Etenim ipse, cum adoleveritis, ad aliorum gubernationem adhibebimini. Postremò me videtis, familiarem vestrum, & alumnum hujus Scholæ. Quanquam autem me mei valde pœnitet, nec quicquam in me positum esse sciam, quo magnopere possitis uti; tamen totum hoc, nescio quid nihili, quod in me est, commoditatibus vestris et opportunitatibus do dedicoque. Nec enim quicquam in vita mihi potest optabilius accidere, quàm ut hæc nobilissima literarum sedes plurimos subministret egregios, & principi servos, & reipublicæ cives.

Atque hæc sunt illa paucula, quæ in hoc tempore volui attingere: cum ætas se vestra corroboraverit, & ematuruerint animi, plura vobis, si opus erit, & graviora proferam. Interim vivite, valete & crescite, ut Deo gloriæ, reipublicæ honori, & vobismet ipsis emolumento esse possitis.

An Extract out of Mr. Richard Mulcaster's Book of Education, printed in the year 1581.

“FOR the credit of these mathematical sciences, I must needs use one authority of great and well-deserved countenance among us; and so much the rather, because his judgment is so often and so plausibly vouched by the courteous Master *Ascham* in his book, which I wish he had not himself, neither any for him, intitled the *Scholemaster*; because myself dealing in that argument, must needs sometimes dissent too far from him, with some hazard of mine own credit, seeing his is hallowed.

“The worthy and well-learned gentleman, Sir *John Cheke*, in the midst of all his great learning, his rare eloquence, his sound judgment, his grave modesty, feared the blame of a mathematical head so little in himself, and thought the profession to be so far from any such taint, being soundly and sadly studied by others, as he bewraied his great affection towards them most evidently in this his doing. Being himself provost of the King's college in *Cambridge*, in the time of his most honoured prince, and his best-hoped pupil, the good King *Edward*, brother to our gracious sovereign Queen *Elizabeth*, he sent down from the court one Master *Buckley*, sometime fellow of the said college, and very well studied in the mathematics, to read arithmetick and geometry to the youth of the college; and for the better encouraging of them to that study, gave them a number of *Euclides* of his own cost.

“Master *Buckley* had drawn the rules of arithmetick into verses, and gave the copies abroad to his hearers. Myself am to honour the memory of that learned knight, being partaker myself of his liberal distribution of those *Euclides*, with whom he joined *Xenophon*; which book he wished and caused to be read in the same house, and gave them to the students, to encourage them as well to the *Greek* tongue, as he did to the mathematicks. He did, I take it, as much for the students in St. *John's* college, whose pupil he had once been, as he did for us of the *King's* college, whose provost he then was.

D. HENRICI SAVILII,

Equitis aurati, & Coll. Mertonensis Custodis dignissimi,

O R A T I O,

C O R A M

REGINA ELIZABETHA

Oxonii habita, anno 1592, Septemb. 23.

D. HENRICI SAVILLI

Epist. ann. & Coll. Martini & Gregor.

ORATIO

COLLEGI

REGINA ELIZABETH

Oxon. habet, eto. 1600.

D. HENRICI SAVILII O R A T I O.

T H E S E S.

- I. *Rei Militaris, & Philosophiæ studia posse in Republica unà vigere.*
- II. *Astrologiam judiciariam è civitate benè morata esse exterminandam.*

COrpus humanum, Serenissima Princeps, nisi vis aut morbus impulerit, tribus quasi gradibus tendit ad mortem; adolescentiæ, maturitatis & senectæ: Sic respublica, non bellis externis oppressa, non civilibus ante tempus lacerata, naturali cetè decursu habet incrementum, statum, & declinationem. Nam & *omnia orta occidunt, & maturata defluunt*, Sall. initio bell. Jugurth. & tempore corroborata, tempore labefactantur. Jam artes aliæ sunt necessitatis, aliæ liberalis otii, aliæ eruditi luxûs. Necessitatis, ut ad depellendam famem agricultura, pecuaria; ad arcendum frigus, architectura, vestiaria; ad vim propulsandam, ars militaris: Otii liberalis, ut gymnastica, musica, & hæc ipsa mater artium Philosophia: Luxûs, ut pictura, statuaria, culinariæ, fucatoriæ artes, aliæque, in quas magno corporum, majore animorum damno, fumus ingeniosi.

Nec in omnibus reipublicæ temporibus vigent istæ omnes, nec tamen ullum est tempus, in quo non aliqua. Sic enim naturâ comparatum est, ut necessitatis inventa tempore prima sint, otii media, extrema luxuriæ: sintque illa nascentis ferè, crescentisque reipublicæ, vigentis altera, tertia ruentis. In constituentibus rempublicam, in bella gerentibus pro capite & salute, nasci literarum studia non solent, non possunt. Otium est pacemque nactæ, vel pro gloriâ tantum dimicantis, civitatis alumna Philosophia. Contrà, rei militaris scientia iis reipublicæ temporibus non utilis modo, sed pernecessaria. Ut enim generare, naturæ nobilius, eoque difficilius est opus, quàm augere, quàm conservare: sic majoris animi, ingenii, artis, virtutis, imperium fundare, quàm tueri; * *cùm novam, in medio crescentem molem* oderint etiam longinque nationes, sibi ac posteris suis metuant vicinæ.

Secundum est tempus reipublicæ jam constitutæ vigentisque, in quo emicant illa, quæ dixi, omnia oblectationis, & otii liberalis, florente etiamnum rei militaris scientia. Quòd si idem ardor animorum maneret, idem armorum studium, labor, industria, vigilantia; nempe id, in quo Deos omnes frustra votis fatigamus, jamdiu manibus teneremus, immortalem civitatem. † *Facile enim imperium iis artibus retinetur, quibus initio partum est.* Sed nimirum cùm nemo jam hostis, nisi quem nos facimus, nulla gens inimica, nisi propter nostras injurias; cessante necessitate, armorum, quæ necessitatis causa primùm sumpta sunt, aciem patimur hebescere. Labente dein paulatim disciplina, cùm ex superiorum temporum virtute nihil restet, præter opes virtute congestas, & instrumenta luxuriæ; spreta jacet res militaris, afflicta di-

* Nusquam benignè legatio audita est: adeo simul spernebant, simul tantam in medio crescentem molem sibi ac posteris suis metuebant. *Livius lib. 1.*

† Nam imperium facile iis artibus retinetur, quibus initio partum est. *Sallustius Bell. Catil.*

vinæ particula mentis, virtutis imperatoria : eodemque labefactata motu, concidunt literarum studia, seu præsidio militari destituta, seu commercii vitiorum voluptatumque pertæsa : ut nemini dubium esse queat, ea studia posse unâ vigere, quæ non possunt nisi unâ perire.

Prima ætate à Roma condita usque ad Annibalem Italiâ Africaque ejectum, * *Tollitur*, ut ait Ennius, è medio sapientia, vi geritur res : *Spernitur orator bonus, horridus miles amatur*. Inde ad Augustum maturitatem pono : in quâ eluxerunt illa literarum lumina, Gracchi, Scævola, Tiberones, Craffi, Hortensii, Cicerones, Varrones. Huic ætati, ingeniorum feracissimæ, debemus Livium, Sallustium, Plautum, Lucretium, Virgilium : nec minùs magnos imperatores, Mummium, Marium, Syllam, Pompejum, Agrippam ; & in cælum ferendos propter summam in utroque genere præstantiam, M. Catonem, P. Africanum, & C. Cæsarem. Quæ tamen ætas ita rudis fuit artium ad luxum pertinentium, ita parùm intelligens Græcarum deliciarum ; ut Mummius, magnus, ut dixi, imperator, capta Corintho, cum maximorum artificum manibus perfectas tabulas, ac statuas in Italiam portandas locaret, juberet prædici conducentibus, *si eas perdidissent, novas eos reddituros*.

Post Augustum, deflorescente jam penitus bellicâ laude, stanteque republica non vi sua, sed rerum prius gestarum gloriâ ; ex domitis nationibus peregrinis hausta, infusaque in mores civitatis peregrinitas, ut eadem studia, quasi progressu quodam naturali, idem ubique exitus maneret. Ita dominante luxurie, cum homines beati & locupletes, voluptatibus immerfi, literarum studia ad Græculos servos rejicerent, dum putarent se scire, quod quisquam in domo sua sciret ; à servilibus ingeniis artes liberales corruptæ, emortuam jam ante rem militarem haud longo intervallo consecutæ sunt ; nisi quod sub Trajano principe, † cum iterum moveret lacertos imperium, reddita quasi juventute, bonæ quoque literæ effloruerunt. Testes fero è Græcis Plutarchum, Lucianum : è nostris Plinium, Tacitum. Et dubitamus adhuc eas artes posse conjungi, quæ in civitate, omnium gentium principe, simul floruerunt, simul perierunt, simulque renatæ sunt ?

Num apud Græcos fecus ? Prima ætas usque ad Medica tempora, armis exercitatissima, literarum penè rudis. Inde ad Philippum Demetrii altera, literis armisque florens, in qua Cimon, Alcibiades, Philippus Amyntæ, Alexander, Seleucus, Demetrius, summi imperatores : & in omni philosophia principes, Socrates, Anaxagoras, Plato, Aristoteles, Chrysippus. Non est necesse de singulis ; nefas tamen fuerit de Pericle, Thucydide, Xenophonte Socratico, Dione Platónico, qui in utroque genere excelluerunt, filere. Ne in nostra quidem republica factum est illud, quod plerique putant, literarum & armorum divortium ; cum iis ipsis temporibus, quibus majores tui, Augustissima Regina, terrorem nominis sui in Galliam, Hispaniam Siciliam, Cyprum, Asiam, Ægyptum intulissent, elucerent domi illa hujus Academiæ ornamenta, Europæ lumina, Rogerus Bacon, Walterus Burley, Scotus, Occhamus, Wiclevus : quos, cum ab omnibus cum ingenii, tum doctrinæ subsidiis fuerint instructissimi, isto orationis flore, quo nunc fere solùm, certè nimium gloriamur, æquissimo animo patior carere.

Quid, quòd ne alterum quidem sine altero horum studiorum potest esse perfectum ? Literæ ab Imperatore præsidium mutantur & tutelam, id est, spiritum & vitam : reddunt multa magnaque & adjumenta belli, & ornamenta victoriæ : Historiæ veteris notitiam, id est, maximè certam brevemque, maximè multiplicem, minimeque periculofam rerum gerendarum ex gestis scientiam. De L. Lucillum, qui Roma perfectus rei militaris rudis, rebus gestis legendis in Asiam venit factus imperator : P. Africanum, qui *Cyri Disciplinam* à Xenophonte scriptam, nunquam solebat ponere de manibus illis gloriosis, quibus Numantia & Carthago, duæ urbes Romani æmulæ fastigii, excisæ sunt. Addo ex philosophia sapientibus sententiis, gravibusque verbis ornatam orationem ; qua militum animos possit jacentes erigere, ferocientes reprimere, inflammatos restinguere : Addo temperamentum morum, & sedationem perturbationum : nequid in bello iratè, in victoria superbè, in pace ultra civilem modum ; neu cædibus & rapinis assuetâ mens, immanitate efferetur.

* Vide Cicer. Orationem pro L. Murena : et Gellii, lib. xx. cap. 9.

† A Cæsare Augusto in seculum nostrum haud multo minus anni ducenti ; quibus inertia Cæsarum quasi consenuit atque decoxit : nisi quod sub Trajano principe movet lacertos, & præter spem omnium, senectus imperii, quasi reddita juventute, revirecivit. *Florus*.

Quid illa abstrusiora? Astronomía, inquit Plato, Imperatori futuro necessaria est ad temporum vicissitudines noscendas: Arithmetica ad acies instruendas: Geometria ad castra mandanda, loca capienda, figurandos exercitus: hinc urbium muniendarum peritia; hinc bellicorum tormentorum, operumque machinatrix. Ab hac disciplina profectus Archimedes, legionum & classium impetum solus perlevi momento luto ludificatus est: contra, Philippus Demetrii scalarum brevitatem, id est, ignoratione Geometriæ, à Melitæensium oppido rejectus; Nicias superstitione lunaris defectus, id est, ignoratione Astronomiæ, cum exercitu cæsus in Sicilia. Idem cum * Sulpitius Gallus in bello cum Persa provideret; prædiceretque militibus, ne id pro portento acciperent, quod ordine naturali, statim temporibus fiat; magnum momentum ad debellendam Macedoniam, id est, ad Romanum imperium constituendum, visus est attulisse. Quare cum his tot, ac tantis adminiculis perficiatur ars Imperatoria; neque aliunde sint ea, quam ex media deprompta philosophia; concedamus sanè, ea studia simul esse posse, quæ nisi simul, non possunt esse absoluta.

Neque tamen non est aliquid, quod contra affertur, Philosophiam avocare animum à sensibus, & contemplationi tradere rerum, dii boni! maximarum, sed ab hac consuetudine populari abhorrentium: quarum illecebris, quasi quodam CIRCÆO poculo delinita mens, ad rempublicam tractandam, ad res manu gerendas, nolit accedere, nè possit quidem. "Nam cum *natura*, ut ait philosophus, *faciat unum ad unum, difficileque sit pluribus in rebus eundem ex- cellere;*" tum certè difficillimum, in tam dissidentibus, & natura disparatis. Ex humoribus, quibus constamus, aptissima ad Philosophiam melancholia, ad arma bilis, ad voluptates sanguis; quartus ille pituita gravis, ne ad mala quidem bonus. Plato tres animæ partes ponit, sedibus disclusas: rationalem in capite, irascibilem in corde, concupiscibilem in jecore. Ad rationalem pertinet philosophia, ad irascibilem ars militaris, voluptuariæ ad tertium genus.

Quod si possent illi humores ita commisceri, aut istæ sive partes animæ, sive facultates, ita conjungi, ut altera vim alterius non infringeret, non debilitaret: haberemus, id quod quærimus, in milite philosophum. Aut si hoc difficile est, cum ob alia, tum quia utriusque studii eadem pæne ætate, multo sudore, multisque vigiliis facienda sunt tyrocinia; secernamus, si placet, à milite totum hoc philosophari; relinquamus imperatori, ut contemplativis mediocriter tinctus sit; morali verò civilique philosophia, & politiore literatura penitus imbutus. Atque ut demus vera esse, quæ sunt ab ornatissimis magistris allata; tamen eam vim habent pleraque, non ut in una republica simul esse non possint, sed ut ne in uno homine: ne nos quidem civitatem ex philosophis constare volumus. quid enim ad vim arcendam foret ineptius? neque ex militibus totam: nam quid turbulentius? Respublica nimirum debet esse unita, non una. Cujus dignitas salusque non una laude, sed uno omnium rerum laudandarum temperamento continetur.

Sequitur Astrologia, quam eventis fallacem, usu supersticiosam, à barbaris nationibus importatam, bonis temporibus Græciæ ignotam, etiam malis Roma pulsam, tot senatusconsultis, tot principum rescriptis damnatam, suffragantibus omnium ætatum philosophis, (plebeios quosdam excipio) politicisque, è republica exterminamus: artem, (quod in arte turpissimum est) nullis textam principiis, nullâ subnixam demonstratione, nullo constantem syllogismo. Verum est, cœlum in hæc inferiora luce, motu, virtute agere: ista omnia fovere, animare; Obliquum circulum causam esse ortus & interitus; à sole & homine generari hominem; sed ab homine, ut causa propinqua propriaque, quæ materiam suppeditet; à sole, ut inter efficientes coadjuvante, remotaque, & generali: qui uno & eodem calore, & semen Aconiti animat ad venenum, & Brassicæ ad alimentum, & Rhabarbari ad medicinam; non naturam aliquam inferendo, sed ea in actum, in lucem, producendo, quæ prius in materiæ potentiis delitescabant.

Itaque sanus, an morbosus sim; acutus an hebes; albus an ater, nihil ad cœlum stellasque: quæ eodem lumine, eodem cœli situ, eodem momento, omnibus iisdem agentia, & ex materia sanè disposita sanum producant infantem, & ex morbosè morbosum. Quid illa externa? pauper an dives, honoribus clarus, an secus? quæ rerum fortuitarum temerario intercurso, nostræque voluntatis libero motu, infinitis modis variata, nullum habent cum cœlo commercium. Sed de Astrologia facilius est tacere, quam pauca dicere.

* Ab aliis Caius Gallus appellatur. Vide Ciceronem de Senectute.

Reliquæ sunt, Augustissima Regina, partes officii nostri, maximis tuis immortalibusque in nos, in rempublicam, in orbem Christianum, meritis debitæ, atque consecratæ. Patere igitur, ut id unus pro omnibus dicam, quod isti omnes de tua Majestate taciti sentiunt. Patere, tuam in obtinendo imperio felicitatem, in constituendo sapientiam, in tuendo fortitudinem, in administrando constantiam, cæteras virtutes tuas, quæ omnium gentium literis, & linguis commemoratæ sunt, tuorum quoque, ad quos tantarum virtutum fructus propius pertinet, voce celebrari. Cùm essent omnia, fato quodam superiorum temporum, plena suspitionum domi, foris bellum certum, aut pax infida : cùm in oculis, in visceribus nostris hæreret, ex illo infelici conjugio contractum, pertinax malum, Hispanorum dominatio : cùm effusum esset ærarium, imminuti fines imperii, præsidia milite, arces tormentis denudatæ ; in his tot tantisque difficultatibus eluxit tua singularis, ac verè divina sapientia, divinissima Princeps.

Gladium, in illa rerum mutatione ac transitu, vaginâ vacuum Anglia non vidit : vidit plausus, clamores, exultationes omnium ordinum, ætatum, hominum, nisi quibus expediret esse malum principem, hoc est, quàm dissimillimum tui. Tu Hispanos à capite, à cervicibus nostris, aut invitos depulisti, aut remisisti volentes. Tu publicam fidem, angustiis ærarii vacillantem, prædiorum tuorum, rerumque pretiosissimarum venditione levasti. Tu oppida amissâ, pactis conventis, quod in te fuit, recepisti : obsidum fugâ, & quorundam perfidiâ, quod præstare non poteras, perdidisti. Cumque tuæ castissimæ purissimæque menti nihil placeret fallax, nihil fucatum ; Tu, nummis adulterinis sublatis, commercia revocasti, fidem restituiisti. Tu religionem, majorum incuriâ collapsam, aut ipso tempore desidentem, incredibili animi fortitudine renovâsti, communeque Asylum omnibus gentibus aperuisti : neque dubitasti nova princeps, cùm omnes propinquæ nationes propter veteres inimicitias essent infensæ, longinquarum quoque odium hac novitate provocare.

Ab his initiis profecta, sedisti deinceps belli pacisque arbitra, inter reges Christianos Regina : qui à factiosis civibus vexati, aut potentiorum injuriis per vim pulsî, in tuo consilio, armis, opibus acquiescunt. Testis Valesiorum familia, quorum infantiam consiliis tuis rexit, ferociam mitigasti ; domumque ruentem, quantum in te fuit, sustinuisti. Testis illustrissima hæc Borboniorum, qui tuis unius freti armis, nixi pecuniis, non aliâ re magis, quàm Majestate nominis tui stantes, Te parentem agnoscunt, Te deam venerantur. Testis Lusitania, cujus regem extorrem ejectumque liberalissimo hospitio accepisti. Testis Germania, Dania, Suetia ; quæ tuo nutu arma sumunt, ponuntque. Quid Christianos dico ? cùm ipsi Turcarum imperatores, quibus, ante hujus beatissimi seculi lumen, ne nomen quidem hujus insulæ unquam fando auditum, tui reverentia nominis arma abjecerint, pacemque Polonis jam ad ultima redactis, Te interveniente, concesserint.

Dixi de singulis ferè partibus ; nunc de universo orbe Christiano. Cujus cum maxima pars, aut hæreditate relicta, aut affinitatibus comprehensa, aut armis devicta Unius jussu regeretur ; cùm Galliam per emissarios, Turciam per mercenarios obtineret ; cùm Germania partibus, Polonia bellis destineretur ; cùm omnes omnium gentium principes, proceres, aut socordia negligenter, aut timore abscederent, aut avaritia inclinarent, quâ, junctis nuper Orientis & Occidentis opibus, aurum præponderabat ; cùm aucta, ut fit, ex prosperis cupiditate, animus haud obscure adjectus esset ad imperium universi, omniaque nemine impediante, in Unius finem casura viderentur ; hîc tua divina virtus enituit, hîc invictum animi robur, cum sapientia singulari. Quæ, oppressis primùm domesticorum insidiis, (*quod dii prius omen in ipsum*) rupto scødere Burgundico, quod Ipse, immisso in tuam provinciam latrocinio, prius ruperat, receptis in societatem Belgis, ampliatisque imperii finibus tot urbium accessione, bellum terrarumque, pro salute omnium susceptum, sola gessisti. Quod cujus manibus administratum sit, non quæro, cùm videam tuis auspiciis, tuis consiliis provincias adjunctas, urbes captas, naves direptas, classes depreßas ; non hostium fines, sed urbem, sedem imperii, tuis signis appetitam, obsessam, oppugnatam. Tuis consiliis Indiæ, quanta terræ totius pars, quantula tuorum manu, quam incredibili celeritate victoriis peragrata ! Tuis, tuis (intelligo, quid dicam) consiliis, tabulis armisque completa omnis hæc Oceani ora, constrata cadaveribus littora. Tuis auspiciis Hispania Anglum non vidit, nisi victorem, aut victoriæ immortuum ; Anglia Hispanum,

num, nisi captivum. Itaque stant tuorum objectu armorum, tuorum oppositu laterum, quot sunt in Europa regna, principatus : ipsique adeo Pontifici, nominis tui infensissimo hosti, unà cum cæteris, absque tuis armis, vel serviendum fuit, vel pereundum.

Bonitatem, clementiam, justitiam, æquitatem, (istà pervulgata, ac propè decantata) in tanta principe referre, regiarum & heroicarum virtutum, quæ in Majestate tua elucent, injuria fuerit. Ne id quidem attingam, quæ mala quàm constanti animo privata pertuleris ; quæ tamen & gratiorem præsentis felicitatis sensum attulerunt tibi, tuisque civibus certissimam salutem, principem habere, quæ & semper cogitet, crebrisque sermonibus usurpet, quid aut noluerit sub alio principe, aut voluerit. Illa commemorabo, quæ vulgò minùs nota, non minùs certè mirabilia ad laudem : Te, cum tot literis legendis, tot dictandis, tot manu tua scribendis sufficias ; cum consiliariorum tuorum, in minimis etiam rebus, sententias dijudices ; cum privatorum precibus, principum legationibus per te respondeas, de subditorum quoque privatis controversiis sæpissimè cognoscas ; in ista tamen districtissima vita, non principum, (quorum aliæ sunt nostris moribus artes) sed pænè mortaliū doctissimam evasisse : Te magnam diei partem in gravissimorum autorum scriptis legendis, audiendisque ponere : neminem nisi sua lingua tecum loqui : Te cum nemine nisi ipsorum, aut omnium communibus Latina, Græcæque.

Omitto plebeios philosophos, quos rarò in manus sumis. Quoties divinum Platonem animadverti tuis interpretationibus diviniorem effectum ! quoties Aristotelis obscuritates, principis philosophorum, à principe foeminarum evolutas, atque explicatas ! Dicerem liberè, nemini unquam ad sacratissimam Majestatem tuam aditum patuisse semidocto, qui non ex tuis sermonibus discesserit doctissimus ; nisi meæ vehementer me poeniteret tarditatis, qui in tam illustri schola tam parùm profecerim.

Itaque literas, literatissima Princeps, tuere ac protege : id est, nobis, qui hîc vivimus, nostra privilegia ; illis, quos emisimus suam dignitatem, sua præmia in Republica, in Ecclesia, quod facis, conserva. Academiam utramque novis immunitatibus munire, novis legibus fundare perge. Utraque à te ornata, in te ornanda certabit, cæteroqui omni genere laudis pares ; hoc nostra felicior, quòd tuos vultus iterum intuetur, in cujus oculis habitant Gratiæ, in fronte Benignitas, in ore Majestas, in pectore Sapientia, in manibus Liberalitas, in toto corpore Pulchritudo & Venustas, digna principe, digna tantis prognata principibus, digna imperio : ut tecum jam propè, parens Natura, redeamus in gratiam ; quæ, cum parem, effusis hic viribus, procreare non posses, neminem voluisti ex tanta principe disparem superesse.

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LETTERS

O F

Mr. *ROGER ASCHAM*,

Transcribed by the Reverend Mr. *Thomas Baker*, B. D. of St. *John's* College, *Cambridge*, from the Originals, indorsed by the hand of *William* Lord *Burghley*, Lord High Treasurer in the reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, and formerly in the custody of the Reverend Mr. *John Strype*.

To Mr. *RAVEN*, fellow of St. *John's* college, in *Cambridge* *.

S. P. in Christ Jesu.

OUR journey out of *England* to *Machyn* (a) in *Brabant*, I wrote unto you from *Colen*. Observe this—to write unto me how many letters you receive from me; what day they be written, and from what place. I wrote unto you four letters from *Gravesend* (b), from *Calato*, from *Antwerp* (c), from *Colen* (d); and this is the first from *Augusta* (e).

As I wrote in my last letter, 3d *Oct.* we came to *Machyn*. I told you at large both of the abbey with 1600 nuns, and also the lantgrave (f),

* These letters are unskilfully transcribed, so that proper names are not always recoverable.

(a) *Mechlin*. (b) 21 Sept. 1551. *Roger Aschami Epist. lib. 3.* (c) *Oct. 1. ibid.*
(d) *Oct. 12. ibid.* (e) *Augsburg.* (f) of *Hesse*. See *Ascham's letter to Edward Raven*, *ubi supra*, p. 212. edit. Lond. 1590.

whom we saw prisoner. He is lusty, well-favoured, something like Mr. *Hebiltbrout* in the face; hasty, inconstant; and to get himself out of prison, would fight, if the Emperor would bid him, with *Turk*, *French*, *England*, God, and the Devil. The Emperor perceiving his busy head without constancy, handles him thereafter: his own *Germano*, as it is said, being well content that he is forthcoming.

John-Frederick is clear contrary, noble, courageous, constant, one in all fortunes, desired of his friends, revered of his foes, favoured of his Emperor, loved of all. He hath been proffered of late, it is said, by the Emperor, that if he will subscribe to his proceedings, to go at large, to have all his dignities and honour again, and more too. His answer was from the first one, and is still, that he will take the Emperor for his gracious sovereign lord: but to forsake God and his doctrine, he will never do, let the Emperor do with his body what he will.

At *Maclyn* we saw a strange bird. The Emperor doth allow it 8 *d.* a-day. It is milk-white, greater than a swan, with a bill somewhat like a shovel, and having a throat well able to swallow, without grief or touch of crest*, a white penny-loaf of *England*, except your bread be bigger than your bread-master of St. *John's* is wont willingly to make it. The eyes are as red as fire, and, as they say, an hundred years old. It was wont in *Maximilian's* days to fly with him whithersoever he went.

4 *Octob.* we went to *Bruxelles*, twelve miles. In the mid-way is a town called *Vilfort*, with a notable strong hold of the Emperor's in it. Traitors and condemned persons lie there. At the town's end is a notable strong place of execution, where worthy *Will. Tyndall* was unworthily put to death. Ye can match *Bruxelles* in *England* but with *London*.

At afternoon I went about the town. I came to the frier *Carmelites* house, where *Edward Billick* was warden; not present there, but being then at *Colen*, in another house of his, I heard their even-song: after I desired to see the library. A frier was sent to me, and led me into it.

* Touch of crest I do not understand; perhaps it may be without touch of *crest*, without breaking the *crest*.

There was not one good book but *Lyra*. The frier was learned, spoke *Latin* readily, entered into *Greek*, having a very good wit, and a greater desire to learning. He was gentle, and honest; and being a papist, and knowing me to be a protestant, yet shewed me all gentleness, and would needs give me a new book in verse, titled, *De Rusticitate Morum*.

6 Octob. from *Bruxelles* to *Louvain*, twelve miles. We came hither at eleven, and went away before two; and there to feast mine eyes and ears, I was content to lose my dinner. I went strait to Mr. *Bransbil's* house, standing against the grey-friers door. He was not at home, but was ridden to *Antwerp*, to have conveyed my lord Ambassador to *Louvain*. He left word, that if he missed my lord by the way, that I in any case should lie and use his house as my own, in his absence. His house is trim. I wrote a letter to him with his own ink and paper. He is loved of all, and regarded with the best; nor doth not use the company of *J. Clement*, and *Bastall*, who, to see a mass freely in *Flanders*, are content to forsake, like their country. As we entered into our inn, the vice-chancellor, with his bedels, came out of our inn, the vice-chancellor being more like in apparel and porte to our priest of *Hornynghshire*, than to the comeliness of Mr. Dr. *Parker*, and the bedels more like *Harry Barber*, and than Mr. *Adams* and Mr. *Meyres*.

I went to *P. Nannius's* chamber, to have talked with him; but he was either drunken at home, or drinking abroad; for he was making merry, and could not be seen, as an *English* boy, his pupil, told me. He reads *Tully's* Orations at nine of the clock: at one of the clock, *Theodorus. Laudius* read (whom I heard) *Oed. Sophocle Græcè*. He read that chiding place betwixt *Oedipus* and *Creon*, beginning *ὅτι ἐστὶν*, &c. reading twenty-one verses. His hearers, being about eighty, did knock him out with such a noise, as I have not heard. This college is called *Trilingue* and *Rustidianum*, where he reads it. *Louvain's*, as far as I could mark, were compared with *Cambridge*, *Trilingue* with *St. John's*, or *Trinity* college, *Theod. Laudius* with Mr. *Car.* Ours do far excel. The reader, in *or.*, followed our pronounciation. I tarried so long at his lectures, that my lord was ridden out of the town; and as I posted after my lord, so do I now post out of *Louvain* to *Tilemont*, nine miles off.

The town is walled, and so is every town we lay in betwixt *Dover* and *Augusta*. There I saw nuns and papists dance at a bridal. These be news to you, but olds to that country, where it is lawful in that Babylonical papistry to serve *Bacchus*, and what dishonesty they will, so they meddle not with Christ, and his word: *Nam quæ communicatio tenebris cum luce?*

We were drawn up the *Rhine* by horses. The grapes grow on the brant rocks so wonderfully, that ye will marvell how men dare climb up to them, and yet so plentifully, that it is not only a marvell where men be found to labour it, but also where men dwell that drink it. Seven or eight days journey ye cannot cast your sight over the compass of vines. And surely this wine of *Rhine* is so good and natural, so temperate, so very like itself, as can be wished for man's use. I was afraid when I came out of *England* to miss beer; but I am more afraid when I shall come to *England*, that I cannot lack this wine.

19 Octob. to *Wormes*. The great church of this city appears all the way like King's college cradell. The city is great and fair; but because the plague was in it, I kept me in my inn.

20 Octob. to *Spira*, a good city. Here I first saw *Sturmius de periodis*. I found also here *Ajax*, *Electra*, and *Antigone* of *Sophocles*, excellently, by my judgment, translated into verse, and fair printed this summer by *Gryphius*. Your stationers do ill, that at least not provide you the register of all books, especially of old authors. Here, at *Spires*, we were a day's journey and a half from *Argentine*. My lord was willing to go thither; and whether I was or no, you, *Edward Raven*, can guess: but word came from Mr. *Hobbie*, I beshrew him, to haste our journey; or else I had talked with *Sturmius*, to whom I wrote, and sent Mr. *Bucer's* letters; and he wrote again to me at *Augusta*, sending me the copy, which Mrs. *Bucer* brought to me to *Cambridge*. One sentence *Sturmius* wrote to me in his last letter, which some of you will be glad to hear. The sentence is this: *Regis non memini præfatione, ut nunc loquuntur, ad D. Elizabetham. Ejus Majestati locus destinatur in Aristotelicis meis dialogis, in quibus stylum meum cotidie acuo, ut siquid possit contra barbariem, in heis ostendat quantum sit, quod in eâ conficiendâ possit.*

23 Octob.

23 Octob. we rode thro' the duke of *Vilebergland*, thro' which runs the goodly river called *Neccarus*. We met with a noble lady, which is the dutchess of *Milan* and *Lorraine*, daughter to the king of *Denmark*. She should once have been married to king *Henry* the VIII. before my lady *Anne* of *Cleve*. She had been with the Emperor, and, as some thought, she went a-wooing to the prince of *Spain*. She had in her company about 300 horses, most part great horses, and *Gennets*, herself having sixteen ladies following her on palfreys. She had thirty-six mules laded with her chamber-stuff, besides a great number of waggons laded with other stuff. A great number of rascals belonging to her kitchen and stable came drabbling in the dirt on foot.

I never saw lady of her porte in my life.

Some of you will jest at my diligence in seeking old monuments; but I do it for the remembrance *Veteris & amici & præceptoris*, Mr. *Pember*, whom I do not forget, and I know would hold me excused, because I write not to him, if he knew what business I have, I pray you, Mr. *Raven*, make him partaker of this my trifling talk.

But friends is content with all things. I pray you, Mr. *Raven*, use Mr. *Pember* as you would use me; commend me to him, Mr. *Raven*, and desire him, which, I know, he doth, to learn Christ out of Christ's own gospel; and let that *consensus ecclesiæ* alone, which deceives many worthy and learned wits in *Cambridge*, which is nothing else indeed but a privy sink to convey the dregs of papistry into all places. Papistry here do use it to confirm the primacy of *Rome*.

28 Octob. We rode towards *Augusta*, a mile on this side the city. Sir *Philip Hobbie*, with a great number of horses, where was *Thomas Hobbie*, and *George Wheatly*, mine old friend, which did convey us honourably to our lodgings, which is the abbey of *St. George*. Ye may see it in description. And thus ye may bid me welcome to *Augusta*. And if I should bid you farewell also, ye would now give me leave, because I am sure ye are weary of my long talk: but because I think some of you would glad hear how we have done since we came, I will yet a little more trouble you.

I thank God, and my lord Ambassador, I lack no moneys, which is the best comfort in a strange country; only I lack leisure to write to my friends when I would, and to learn the tongues here is. I could wish I had wrote part of this letter three months ago; and now it is the 3d of *January*. Five days in the week my lord and I continually do study the *Greek* tongue, that I am alway either looking for my lord's lectures, or else with my lord: two days I write my lord's letters into *England*; so that I never so much as go into the town, but only on *Tuesdays*, to deliver our letters to the post. If I had leisure to mark things, and write things, I trow I would come as well furnished home as most part of *Englishmen* do. And that thing which I thought should have been the cause, why I should have sent you many news, doth in a manner forbid me to send any; and that is, because I know so much; and being in this room that I am, I must needs keep them close, because they be credit unto me; and though I knew them otherwise, yet I must and will let them alone. *Vaban* hath a better life than either my lord or I. He lacks nothing; he fares well; he lives well; he may do what he lists; study what thing he list; go to the Emperor's court, or elsewhere, when he list. If he do not come home well furnished with much knowledge, he little consider what God doth call him to by this journey. If I were any man's man, as *Vaban* is mine, I would wish no better felicity abroad. Those that stopped *S. Wright* from this occasion, shall never be able to make him amends; for in lacking nothing he should have studied, and seen what he had list. There can be a greater commodity to an *Englishman* abroad. If *Wrights* had ten fellowships of *St. John's*, it would not counter-weigh with the loss of this occasion: for besides *Dutch*, *French*, and *Italian*, which he should have learned, in a manner, whether he would or no, he might have learned as much *Greek* and *Latin*, and perhaps more, than in *St. John's*. I am almost an *Italian* myself, and never look on it.

If I should tell you nothing of *Augusta*, I should do such a noble city much wrong. At a few things, guess the rest. There be five merchants in this town, thought able to disburse as much ready money as five of the greatest kings in Christendom. The Emperor would have borrowed money of one of them. The merchant said, he might spare him ten hundred thousand guilders, and the Emperor would have had
eighteen;

eighteen; a guilder is 3 s. 6 d. These merchants be three brethren, *Tuccurs*, two brethren, *Bamgartner*. One of the *Tuccurs* doth lodge, and hath done all the year, in his house, the Emperor, the king of the *Romans*, the prince of *Spain*, and the queen of *Hungary*, regent of *Flanders*, which is here, besides his family and children. His house is covered with copper: there be a number of houses in this town, which set in *Cheapside*, would over-look and over-brag the whole street.

There comes to this town commonly every market-day, three and twenty hundred waggons loaded with things to sell, &c.

I have seen the Emperor twice, first sick in his privy chamber, at our first coming. He looked somewhat like the parson of *Epurstone*. He had on a gown of black taffety, and a furred night-cap on his head, *Dutch*-like, having a seam over the crown, like a great cod-piece. I saw him also on St. *Andrew's* day, sitting at dinner at the feast of Golden Fleece; he and *Ferdinando* both under one cloth of estate; then the prince of *Spain*; all of one side, as the knights of the Garter do in *England*; after orderly, Mr. *Bussie*, master of the horse, duke *d'Alva*, a *Spaniard*, *Dux Bavariae*, the prince of *Piedmont*, the count of *Hardenburgh*.

I stood hard by the Emperor's table. He had four courses; he had sod beef very good, roast mutton, baked hare: these be no service in *England*. The Emperor hath a good face, a constant look: he fed well of a capon. I have had a better from mine hostess *Barnes* many times in my chamber. He and *Ferdinando* eat together very handsomely, carving themselves where they list, without any curiosity. The Emperor drank the best that ever I saw; he had his head in the glass five times as long as any of us, and never drank less than a good quart at once of *Rhenish* wine. His chapel sung wonderful cunningly all the dinner-while. *Ferdinando* is a very homely man; gentle to be spoken to of any man, and now of great power and riches.

The prince of *Spain*, I think, is not all in so wise as his father. *Maximilian*, *Ferdinando's* son, now king of *Boeme*, is a worthy gentleman, learned, wise, liberal, gentle, loved and praised of all.

The

The general council shall begin at *Trident* the first of next *May*. Cardinal *Pool* shall be president there, as it is commonly said. I have seen the Pope's bull already for it.

If Mr. *Cheke* would get a living of the king, my lord Ambassador would send me to see all *Italy*, and other countries. So I believe I would report the manner of the general council, and mark the seat of the world, as well as some other. I would trust to have the letters of most ambassadors to their cities, that I might more freely see things than commonly *Englishmen* do, that go into *Italy*. My lord hath promised me to write to Mr. *Cheke* and others for the same purpose: and I do not doubt but my † lady's grace, my mistress, when she shall consider the honest and true service that I did her, will help also the same.

God's doctrine is so earnest in this town, as I never saw. The churches be made like *theatra*, one seat higher than another, and round about be stages, as it is at the King's College buttery-door; and in Christmas the pulpit in the midst.

The table of the Lord stands comely in the higher end. On Christmas-day I did communicate amongst them. There was above 1500 that did communicate that day.

Ye see, good fellows and friends, how glad I am to talk with you, remembering you always, wishing oft to be amongst you, where is the most pleasant life in the world. I shall not take pleasure at things here, if I did not remember how gladly I shall talk of them amongst you. He that is able to maintain his life in learning at *Cambridge*, knoweth not what a felicity he hath. I pray God I may meet with you there, whom I left at St. *John's*. I do salute you all: I name none, because I would leave out none, and because I love all. I do make you weary. And thus fare you well all in the Lord, and pray for me.

Augusta Vindelicorum, 20 Januarii, 1551.

R. A. *

† The lady (afterwards queen) Elizabeth.

* This letter being very long, several little particulars are left out; but nothing that alters or interrupts the sense. The rest are given entire. Mr. BAKER.

Carissimo Amico suo Edwardo Raveno, Socio Collegii Johannis.

I Am much beholden to my lord and my lady. I was yet, thanked be God, never sick. This *Rhenish* wine is so gentle a drink, I cannot tell how to do when I come home.

News ye look for, and few I dare write. Whether the Emperor go against the *Turk*, into *Italy*, into *Spain*, against *Magdeburgh*, or come down into *Flanders*, it is not yet certain. We will go with him whithersoever he go, except he go to the Devil. The *Turk* cometh with a great power against *Hungary*. *Ferdinando*, within these two days, departs hence to meet the *Turk* aforehand, with his two noble sons, *Maximilian* king of *Boeme*, and *Ferdinando* archduke of *Austria*. *Maximilian* is a prince peerless, except the king our master. He is twenty-three years old, lusty, courageous, wise, hardy, liberal, gentle, learned, virtuous, godly. He can speak eight tongues perfectly. I pray God he may give the *Turk* an overthrow. He carrieth with him the hearts, good wills, and prayers of rich and poor, and the commendation of all that is wise.

Fra. George, a stout frier, and a bishop of *Transylvania*, (look your maps) gave the *Turks* an overthrow this winter. I saw *Fra. George's* letter written to the palatine of *Rhine*, requiring aid of the princes of *Germany*. The letter was dated 12 *January* 1551. If we go into *Turky*, (I pray God we may) we shall sail goodly down by noble *Danubizo*.

Pope *Julie* is a very king. He hath made a boy of his kitchen, an upper keeper *, *Cardinal de Monte*, whereof he was cardinal himself. Men say now, *Parturiant montes; nascetur simia turpis*.

The Emperor last *Saturday* in his chapel, within *Tuccar's* house, gave warning to all the electors and states to be at the general council at *Trident*, 1^o *Maii*, where they say *Cardinal Pole* shall be president. But all wise men think there will be no council at all; for the Pope purposing neither to amend his life, nor redress his doctrine, may lose more than win thereby. The *Germans* were never more stouter in God's cause. The Emperor is too wise and forecasting a prince, either to fall out with

* This I do not understand.

Germany or the Pope ; for by a general council, he is likely either to make the Pope, of an uncertain friend, a stedfast enemy ; or else the *Germans*, of secret rapines, open foes. *Madenburge* be stout persons. The duke of *Meckenburg*, who they took prisoner, is dead, as men say ; and it is even now reported, that *Mauritius* hath raised his siege, and *Madenburge* strongly furnished for two or three years. The Emperors have made war against that town, and have left their bodies buried in *Madenburge* for monuments, and the town as a maid undefiled. Well ! God send quietness to his church. Men think there will be business about *Piemont* and *Milan* shortly.

England need fear no outward enemies. The lusty lads verily be in *England*. I have seen on a *Sunday* more likely men walking in *St. Paul's* church than I ever saw yet in *Augusta*, where lieth an Emperor with a garrison, three kings, a queen, three princes, a number of dukes, &c.

Here was joustes since *Candlemas*. The tilt was in a street before the Emperor's lodging. The houses be eight or nine stories high, that a wonderful number of people may look out of windows. Their spears were small, their deckings were above measure. The prince of *Spain* jousted gently ; for he neither hurt himself, his horse, his spear, nor him that he ran with. Noble *Maximilian* ran not.

If *Vahan* were an honest fellow, he might write at large of any thing ; for he hath good leisure.

Well, to bid you farewell : The *Turk* is set upon war, the Pope upon mischief, the Emperor upon wisdom and policy, the *Germans* upon God's doctrine ; and the *Spaniards* also be the people of God, for all the world hates them.

I study *Greek* apace, but no other tongue ; for I cannot. I trust to see *England* shortly, God willing. I am sorry that I hear no word from *Ireland*. Commendations to all, because I would leave out none ; to Dr. *Haddon*, father *Bucer*, *John Scarlett*, mine hostess *Barnes*. If ye will see *Tuccar's* library, look on Mr. *Pember's* letter.——From *Augusta*, 23 Feb. 1551.

I never yet received letter out of *England*.

To

To my assured and especial friend Mr. Edward Raven, fellow in St. John's College, S. P.

I Cannot think, my good *Edward Raven*, that because ye either forget me, or neglect me, ye write nothing unto me. I suppose ye know not how to send. Send to Mr. *Eland*, and he may deliver them at the *White-Friers* to Mr. *Stephen Hales*, and he can and will send them to me as fitly as you may send to *London*. My good *Thomas Leaver* hath not deceived me, but written a large letter unto me. I marvel that Mr. *Henry Stiland* writes not. None of you lacks matter; and your longest letters be most looked for. Write how good Dr. *Maden* doth, and all his. If I might have had a stroke in bishoprics, I wish, &c. and I would I had been at home in *England* at that time. Commend me to Mrs. *Maden*, and our Col. *D. Maden*. If he and I live together, he shall be sure of a stedfast loving friend. I ask nothing so much as good-will; for all other goods I trust to provide well enough myself.

Now, *Edward*, I pray you as him, whom I trust and love as myself, mark the manner, towardness, and bringing up, &c. and whether Dr. *Maden* would be very glad thereof, or no; and whether he is plain in the matter, or double and wavering; for if, &c. Ye perceive what I mean, and add what ye list; for in this matter, or in any other, I trust you as myself. Let no man read this letter, or see it; be secret and close; and so bid Dr. *Maden*. But I need not write this to you. As you send me word of the matter, so shall you hear from me: for as I shall know your affections, so then I will enter into the matter myself more plainly. Ye need not let Dr. *Maden* see this part of my letter; for now I would only prove by you what this part would think of the matter, if it should be. I do not doubt but ye will both do it friendly, and can handle it wisely; for your counsell, *Edward*, and advice in that matter, surely I will follow. When you write, seal your letters so, that they may not be opened, &c.

Keep my chamber well: I heard say some was in it; I know not. What you do I am content, and well content. If the master meddle

in my interest, I am not content ; and he had as good no. Be stout, *Edward*, and doubt not but I will and shall be able to bear you out.

Purpose, my *Edward*, to live in godliness, and learning ; for that is life only. I see Emperors, kings, princes, &c. live not, but play their lives upon stages. Suspicion, care, fear, need, and a thousand miseries and ἀπορία, turn and toss their lives.

Edward, I purpose, God willing, that you and I will live together, and look and laugh at the world. I trust to you to provide for us both ; and that little that I shall have, take it, and use it as your own.

I am very well, thanked be God, and in great favour with my lord and lady. My lord surely is a witty man, and serves his God, his king, and his country, nobly here. If you hear any thing to the contrary, be bold, *Edward*, of my word to reprove it. Yesterday we received letters from the king's council, full of thanks and gentleness.

Write how my money is received there, and make mine account well ; and think not that 20 *l.* is my debt to you, *Edward*, but all that ever I have. Write of *Bucer*, and what my friend *Haddon* on him ; but that I commit it to my *Henry Ailand*, to write at large of *Bucer*, because you shall write of other matters. I trust, *Will. Taylor*, *John Bee*, and *Thomas Wilson*, will not be behind. I pray God I may find these good fellows at *Cambridge* ; for there is the life that no man knows, but he that hath sometimes lacked it, and especially if one be able to live plentifully there.

Will. Ireland and *R. Calibret*, in *Easter* week, departed from *Venice* towards *England* through *France*. I beshrew them they came not this way ; and so tell my good *Ireland*. And I trust, when he cometh home, ye two will take any thing that I have as your own. I write not this so oft, *Edward*, as I mean it faithfully, and from my heart ; which doth cause me so oft to repeat it.

I know ye will answer all my letters with one long one. Make one packet of all your letters together, if any other will write, and so send them.

Some

Some news I must needs write.

The *Turk's* armies entered *Transylvania*. The great king of *Tartary* is the *Turk's* standard-bearer; and the *Turk* hath made a league with the *Sophy*, which is king of *Persia*. We shall have hot war in *Hungary*; and would to God the Emperor would go thither. *Ferdinando*, with his noble son king *Maximilian*, were almost both drowned of late in *Danubius*, going to *Vienna*.

The *Turk's* preparation is very great *per mare Mediterraneum*, and the *Venetians* of late have sent a great force into *Corcyra*. The prince *Andrew Doria* hath chased one of the *Turkish* captains, called *Dragunt Bois*, into such a state upon *Afric* shore, not far from the isle of *Zerbic*, that he is like to be taken, with all his ships.

The matters of *Parma* and *Italy*, *Ireland* shall tell you. Some of the Pope's bishops hath been at *Tridentum* at the beginning of *May*, and have deferred the council *ad calendas Septembris*: but I believe it be *ad calendas Græcas*.

Madeburg be vengeable fellows: they have almost marred all duke *Maurice's* men; and yet they be as strong as ever they were.

This I wrote the 10th of *May*; but this 12^o *Maii* news are come, that *Andrew Doria* is either taken by the *Turks*, or at least his whole navy lost. The certainty ye shall shortly know: and this day I hear say, that the siege of *Madeburg* is quite dispatched. The *French* king sits upon the realm of *Navarre*. So many irons, and so hot, be ill to handle.

I hear from *Sturmius* every week.

Hieronimus Wolfius, that translated *Demosthenes* and *Isocrates*, is in this town. I am well acquainted with him, and have brought him twice to my lord's to dinner. He looks very simple. He telleth me, that one *Borrheus*, that hath written well upon *Aristot. priorum*, &c. even now is printing goodly commentaries upon *Aristotle's* Rhetoric. But *Sturmius* will obscure them all.

Joachimus Camerarius hath two goodly books in printing at *Bafil*, which he has been in hand withall many years. The one is commentaries upon *Plautus*: the other is called *De Homine*; a lexicon for all things *Greek* and *Latin* belonging *ad res humanus*.

The godliness, and constancy, and discipline of this town, is incredible. Three or four thousand singing at one church at a time, is but a trifle. If a papistical church have a dozen, it is well furnished. Upon *Shrove-Thursday*, at night, a wonderful * sort of *Spaniards* did whip themselves naked through the streets, deep with sorrow.

Ye write not to me; therefore I have no courage to do as I would, or else I would write many things to you.

There was many companies, &c. of the Emperor's house, 113, which went at nine of the clock at night, accompanied with 800 torches. No small fools bore torches that night, but very many great lords, in gowns of crimson and purple velvet, full of aggletts of gold.

The prince of *Piedmont*, the duke of *Alva*, one of the Emperor's council, bore torches that night; a wonderful *ἑθελοθησκία* to live so abominable all the year; and then will needs make amends with God whether he will or not.

I could declare to you, as I wrote it to my lady of *Warwick*: but I cannot tell what to say to you, ye be so unkind: I have called *Vahan L. K.* many times, that having so much leisure, he never writes. But I now judge him wiser than I. I know, *Edward*, there is no fault in you.

If ye will know how I do, I think I shall forget all tongues but the *Greek* afore I come home. I have read to my lord since I came to *Augusta*, whole *Herodotus*, five tragedies, three orations of *Isocrates*, seventeen orations of *Demosthenes*. For understanding of the *Italian*, I am meet well; but surely I drink *Dutch* better than I speak *Dutch*. Tell Mr. D. *Maden*, I will drink with him now a carouse of wine; and would to God he had a vessel of *Rhenish* wine, on condition that I paid

* That is, a wonderfully numerous company.

40 s. for it : and perchance, when I come to *Cambridge*, I will so provide here, that every year I will have a little piece of *Rhenish* wine.

I would fain hear from my good coufin *Coniers*. We have word now, that the Emperor cometh down into *Flanders* the 29th of *May*.

If I can get leave of my lord Ambassador, surely, *Edward*, I will come home at *Michaelmas*.

Commend me to all *Joannenses*, and leave none out ; Mr. *Pember*, Mr. *Barwick*, good Mr. *D. Haddon*, *John Scarlett* and his wife, and my good hostess *Barnes*, whom I cannot forget : to all at *Wittane*.

I write this letter by piece-meals ; and this is the first letter you have had from me since *Candlemas*. Burn this letter. *Valete in Christo*.——
From *Augusta*, 14 *Maii*, 1551. R. A.

P. S. Because this paper is void, I cannot leave talking with you.

Madeburge, as it is said, hath given within these thirteen days a great overthrow and slaughter to *Mauritius*.

They say that the marquis of *Brandenburg's planta pedis* is smitten off with a gun by them of *Madeburge*.

They have gotten into the town many waggons laden with victuals. They have ploughed up all the gardens, and sown wheat in them : they have taken up the stones in the streets throughout all the town, and sown wheat in the streets, leaving only a little space to pass from house to house ; and it is said there is as goodly wheat in the city as ever grew. This will be both a great help, but chiefly it keepeth the people from idleness. I hear also, that *Consules Madeburgenses* be desired by *Mauritius* to come to *Witenburge*, to talk of conditions of peace. God send peace, but peace in Christ.

I would be glad to have a letter from Mr. *D. Maden*, and so tell him. Tell *Henry Stiland*, that I am well acquainted with *Andreas Vesalius*, that
noble

noble phyfician, and, as *Vaban* faith, the beft phyfician in the world, becaufe he give him pitcher-meat enough. I was never fick, thanked be God, fince I came out of *England*. I pray you make Dr. *Blithe* partaker of this news of *Andrew Dorea's* and *Madeburge*, for he is a man whom I always eſteemed.

If my lady of *Suffolk* be at *Cambridge*, know if my lord Ambaffador's fon, little Mr. *Charles Morifin*, be there; and let not *Edward* but go and fee him; and I pray you write diligently to me of him: and if he were not fo young, I would ye ſhould bring him to my chamber, and ſhew the child ſome pleaſure; at leaſt often to do it for my ſake, &c. Write of his growing, of his wit, of his colour, &c.; for it is a good thing to pleaſe another well.

Keep theſe letters ſecret; ſhew them but by piece-meals: yet, *Edward*, inquire of him wiſely, leſt my lady of *Suffolk* ſuſpect it is done to prove how he is handled; and therefore write to me accordingly to this purpoſe of the child. But I need not warn you: ye can do me no greater pleaſure, for divers cauſes.

Ye ſee, *Edward*, how that with many pens, and divers inks, and ſundry times, I write this letter. I truſt my will to write ſhall match the marris I make in it. I ſhall be ſorry if I hear tell *Washington* is gone from *Cambridge*, and glad to hear tell that *S. Wright*, by diligence, come to that pricke *, whereunto his goodly wit doth call him. I ſend my letters to my brother and couſin *Coniers* open to you, that ye may both ſee news, and largely told, and alſo learn to lap up a letter.

The *French* ſecretary told me this day, that there are news that duke *Maurice* himſelf is ſmitten with a gun: but there is no certainty.

Ye ſee, *Edward*, how glad I am to talk with you, and loth to depart from you, and therefore how confuſedly καὶ ἐν δι' οἰκονομίας I chop in things as they come.

Good *Thomas Leaver* only hath not deceived me, but written to me diligently. I will requite him, God willing.

* *Prick*, is *mark*, the point aimed at.

Seal your letters up well, *Edward*, or else they will be read many times ere they come hither. Make your packet of letters like a pack of cards; but keep the same proportion as I do in my letters.

At the closing up of this letter, word was brought, that the prince of *Spain* (whereas to-morrow I should have gone into *Italy*, and so *per mare Mediter.* into *Spain*) is this day fallen sore sick of a phrenesis; that he was twice this day let blood. Yesterday my lord was with, and bade him farewell; and then I saw him in his privy chamber.

I purpose within these seven days by the next post to write again to you, God willing. Now I bid you farewell in Christ, good *Edward*; for my paper is spent, and it is almost midnight, and to-morrow I write all day to the council. *Saluta omnes.* Shew *Edward Cuntrell* some of this news.—From *Augusta*, 18 *Maii*, 1551.

R. A.

To my especial friends *Mr. Edward Raven*, and *Mr. William Ireland*,
fellows of *St. John's*.

S. P. in Chrifte Jesus.

My good *Mr. Raven* and *Ireland*,

I Marvel not a little the cause of your silence, and that so many letters cannot deserve one word again. I have written, that *Mr. Stephen Hales*, in the *White Friars* in *London*, can readily convey your letters. I would fain know the state of *Cambridge*, and my affairs there, and especially how my friends do. I cannot think so on you, that you have forgot me. I measure your good-will towards me by mine towards you. I would hear of all, and namely of *Mr. Maden* and his house, *Mr. Pember*, *Mr. Haddon*, *Mr. Barnwick*, &c.

The *Turk* is in *Hungary* with two hosts; the one of one side *Danubius*, the other of the other side; 3000 horsemen in either: his navy of galleys at *Mileta Insula*, where *St. Paul* was cast up, 28.

The *French* give the bishop of *Rome's* men great overthrows at *Parma* and *Mirandola*.

The Emperor, 27 *Augusti*, hath banished the preachers protestant of *Augusta* the whole empire. They were ten preachers, that all went hence the 28th of *August*. This day schoolmasters are called before the council.

I have written at large to Mr. *Leaver*, for he only hath written to me; and yet I would have written at large to you, if I had leisure; for I neither can nor will forget you, whatsoever unkindness I find in you. Yet I do not think it unkindness, but rather some just stop that ye have. As for you, *Ireland*, ye have been but a little while at home; and I know ye be slow to write of old; therefore I can better excuse you. As for my *Edward Raven*, I know there is just occasion, or else I had had letters ere this.

My lord is merry, and one that doth God and his prince as good service as ever did ambassador. Mr. *Wotton* cometh home, and we tarry; and methinks I know what your Papists at home have talked of that matter.

I beseech you, leave not *Cambridge* for none occasion. I never loved it so well as I do at this day. I am a great man in *Demosthenes*, and I trust to make him better acquainted with *Cambridge* than he is there yet.

Keep my chamber, books, and stuff well. I would gladly hear that *Richard Aspley* did well. Farewell in Christ. With haste, the last of *August*, 1551.

To my assured friends the fellows of St. John's college.

S. P. in Christo Jesu.

IF I should as often have written to you, as I have remembered that good fellowship and my duty bounden, and my good-will bent to every one of you, ye should receive every day letters from me.

Of

Of my journey I wrote plentifully unto you all, and since oft to Mr. *Raven* of matters here, and also to Mr. *Leaver*, which ye read, as I guesse, in *Sturbridge* fair time. That honest company and quiet aboding I daily remember, and wish me often among you, and if it were but a problem fire-time; not because I wish me from hence, being with so good a lord and lady, but for the good-will I owe to the house, to you all and every one. I take pleasure in writing this letter, that is, in talking with you, in being at home for a while in St. *John's*, from whence my heart can never be absent. How glad I would be of two words from any of that house, none of you doth feel, that hath not been in like place. I never heard from *Cambridge* yet. I am content to put the fault on carriage, and do not mistrust your friendships.

Mr. *Leaver*, of all the rest, either is more friendly, or more happy to me. I have two long letters from him.

Because the Emperor goeth from *Augusta* this next week towards *Innsbruck*, called in *Latin* *Oenopons*, at the foot of the *Alps*, and after, we think, to *Milan*, and so perchance to *Naples* and *Sicily*, if the *French* do not trouble our journey; therefore I thought to write in few words, as leisure, which is little, will give me leave.

The *Turkish* cometh in with might and main by land and sea. His quarrel by land into *Hungary* is this. Being three kings in *Hungary*, the *Turk* chief, next *Ferdinando*, the third *Joannes Vaivoda*, king of *Transylvania*, which is tributary to the *Turk*. *Joannes Vaivoda* is dead, leaving a young prince to be ruled by the queen his mother, and two governors. The one is called *Fra. George*, a frier, a bishop, a papist, and therefore this last day made a cardinal. He is wise in council, and hardy in war. The other is called *Petrovitz*, a count, a wise and worthy gentleman, and one that favoureth God's word truly. *Fra. George* hath laboured secretly this twelvemonth to make *Ferdinando* king of *Transylvania*; so that the young prince *Vaivoda* be provided for honourably in another place, easier for him to maintain. The queen and count *Petrovitz* did not incline at the first to *Ferdinand*, loth to fall out with the *Turk*, which doth keep his promise most firmly where he doth make it, and doth revenge most cruelly him that doth break it. The *Turk* perceives

this practice all this year, and therefore laboured the queen not to break with him, promising her aid and help, as to his tributary, against all persons that would do the young king wrong. At the last, *Fra. George* hath brought the queen and count *Petrovitz* to *Ferdinand's* mind, and came all three to the king with all their power. This done, soldiers were gathered on both sides. The bassa of *Buda* (look where *Buda* stands in your map of *Danube*) was the *Turk's* general for a while. He came this summer within six *Dutch* miles of *Vienna*, and gave the *Hungarians* a foul overthrow. He killed a great sort; for of five ensigns that went from home with *Ferdinand's*, there returned home but fifty persons; and he carried into *Turkey* with him 7000 Christian souls, men, women, and children; for they bid no better booty than to carry men away: they ransom few, but kill or carry away all. *Ferdinando's* side, after this, gave the *Turks* an overthrow; so that most cruelty hath been used on both sides. A noble gentleman of *Ferdinando's* court, which hath served stoutly against the *Turks*, was taken and brought to the bassa of *Buda*. Great ransom was proffered, but none received. Certain great dogs were kept hungry, and after many spites and villanies done to the gentleman in prison, he was brought forth, and tormenters appointed did cast gobbets so cut to the dogs, that eat them in the gentleman's sight. When so many gobbets were cut off, and cast to the dogs, as life would afford, then the dogs were let loose, and so tore him all in pieces. After this the *Hungarians* took three lords of *Turkey*: 6000 ducats were offered for their ransom; but word was sent to the bassa, that if he himself came to their hands, as they trusted he should, all the gold in *Turkey* should not save him: and because no *Turks* will eat swine's flesh, they would prove if swine would eat *Turks* flesh; and so kept up swine from meat, which very cruelly devoured the *Turks* up. But now *Beglierbeglie Mahomet*, that hath married the *Turk's* daughter, and is general ruler of all the *Turk's* dominions in *Europe*, whole *Thrace*, *Macedonia*, and *Greece*, is come into *Hungary* with two main hosts, of either side *Danubius* one. He hath written sharp letters to *Fra. George*, accusing him for the stir of this war: and even yesterday came word to this city, that *Beglierbeglie* hath won a great city from *Ferdinando*, and hath cut in pieces all the Christian folk in it, and cometh on, bringing great terror to all *Hungary* and *Austria*, and especially to *Fra. George*, that he knoweth not which way to turn him; insomuch that many that came
to

to the king, be gone to the *Turk's* side. All Christendom ought to pray to God, as a most merciful Father, to cast the rod in the fire: for even thus stands the case of *Hungary*.

Maximilian, the king of *Boeme*, *Ferdinando's* eldest son, is much missed in this war, being now in *Spain* to fetch home his wife: for an *Hungarian* told me, where his father should have one soldier for his money, he should have three for his love and good-will owing him. The *Hungarians* hope it shall be *Maximilian* that shall drive the *Turk* out of *Hungary*: and it may well be so; for he is, as I wrote once, I trow, to Mr. *Raven*, a goodly person of stature and favour, liberal, gentle, wise, learned, speaking eight tongues, hardy, painful, loved of all, except where envy repines; pleasant without wildness, grave without pride, lowly to every one, and revered of all, and one whom all *Germany*, protestants and others, love and commend.

The *Turk's* quarrel by sea is this. *Andrew Dorea* took the city of *Algiers*, which standeth in *Afric*, from *Dragunt Rais*, a *Turk*, anno 1550. The great *Turk* required this city again. Whether a promise of the delivery was either not made or not kept, I cannot tell; but the *Turk's* navy is come so big, that they and the *French* rule all *mare Mediterraneum*. When they were once past *Eubæa*, and the point of *summum promontorium*, we had letters every week from *Venice* of them. They are 132 great gallies, besides a huge galleot, full of wonderful great ordnance, wherein, as one that was in it said, there was in it 4000 saddles of men of arms. This great navy brought such terror with it, that the *Venetians* were fain afresh to double man and victual *Corcyra*. *Sicilia* was afraid, *Naples* was afraid, *Rome* was afraid, *Genoa* was afraid, all *mare Mediterraneum* did tremble, whither this great navy would go. At last they light upon St. *Paul's* isle of *Melita*, now *Malta*, kept by the knights of *Rhodes*. Whether they would not or could not then win it, from thence they departed and came to *Tripoli*, a Christian city in *Africa*, over-against *Sicilia*, kept by many knights of *Rhodes*, and well manned and victualled. The *Turks* gave cruel assaults, that the gun-shot was heard to *Malta*. They within asked respite for certain days, and if aid came not from *Malta*, then to deliver the city. Respite was granted, and in this while they conveyed out of *Tripoli*

2000 of old men, women, and children, which came all into the *Turk's* hands. After that the city could not hold out; they gave up upon condition to have their lives. The *Turk* came in, and thirty knights of *Rhodes*, most part *Frenchmen*, were sent to *Malta*: 200 of the strongest soldiers were put in galleys, and all the rest, young and old, were killed without mercy. The *Turk's* promise was laid unto him, and he bid him lay the blame on those that had taught *Turks* to break promise. Thus was *Tripoli* won this last *August*; such a haven as scarce is like in *mare Mediterran.* which will receive 300 ships.

Tripoli may keep *Africa* from victuals, and is like to be an ill neighbour to *Sicilia* and *Italy*. The thirty knights of *Rhodes* went to *Malta*; but the great master calling a chapter, hath banished them, as both false and *French*. They sailed from thence, and by rage of water was driven upon *Sicilia*, and by the viceroy are taken every man, and cast into prison.

We looked that the *Turk* would straitway have set upon *Malta*; but the whole navy is gone over into *Sinum Ambracium*, where *Augustus* gave *Anthony* the overthrow; and there, as we hear say, have taken up their lodging for this winter. News were brought hither, that many of the *Turk's* galleys were drowned by over-thwarting the seas; some said forty, some sixteen, some nine: but the ambassador of *Venice* saith, that he heard in no letter that any ship took harm. And thus much of the *Turk's* stirs both by sea and land, as is most credibly known and confirmed to be true in this town and court.

Now Μήνιν ἄειδε θεὰ, the pope is in a wonderful chase: he abhors *Germany*; he is thrust out of *France*; he mistrusts the Emperor; and yet the Emperor hath more cause to mistrust him: the house of *Farnese* have robbed him of his treasure; the siege of *Parma* is given up, and *Mirandolo* cares not for him; his own household wax *Lutherans*; none will come to his conspiracy at *Trent* but such as are sworn that no good shall be done there; and if he do not hang himself before *October* is past, he cometh to *Bononia*; and if we go into *Italy*, and happen to meet with him, as we are likely, I will describe him to you from top to toe.

Now

Now to come to *quicquid delirant reges*, καὶ πίπτει δὲ λαός: I beshrew their hearts, either because they begin now, or else because they begin no sooner, whilst the weather was warmer; for now we must over the cold *Alps*, even now full of snow. The Emperor doth little yet; but the *French* be a great deal aforehand.

Of ships taken in those seas towards you, ye know; and the prior of *Capua* the same time came to *Barcelona* in *Spain*, and using the cloak of the Emperor's arms, came quietly into the haven, and took away with him, in sight of the *Spaniards*, seven goodly galleys. The *French* have a great host in *Piedmont*, and have won divers cities, towns, and castles, and have well manned them, as *St. Damian Circusco*, *Cheir*, &c. This *Cheir* is bigger than *Norwich*, as they say that have seen it. The Emperor took a foul injury in it; for the citizens opened the gates to the *French*, and they will keep the gates the faster close against the imperials, lest they drink for this treachery. We look that all the war will be in *Piedmont*, and that the Emperor and *French* king will be both there in person. We imperials crack *France* out of measure, that it shall be beat down of all sides with one mighty army out of *Spain*, one other out of *Flanders*, the third out of *Italy*. If I have convenient time and carriage, I will not fail to let you know the cause of all these stirs; and will be very glad to mark them, and as ready to write them unto you. The Emperor hath many irons in the fire, and every one able alone to keep him work enough; the *Turk* by land and sea; the *French* sitting on his skirts on all sides, besides *Madeburge*, &c.

The Emperor is wise enough, and it stands him in hand even now to be so. The *Turk* nor the *French* can either be weak enemies, or sure friends: and therefore as [to] *Madenburg*, the duke of *Saxony*, and the landgrave, there is even this day fresh talk, that the Emperor will use the gentler choice of those two which the father gave to *Pontius* his son. Ye know the story in *Livy*; for that way is not to be taken, *quæ neque amicos parat, neque inimicos tollit*: and therefore ambassadors from duke *Maurice*, the marquis of *Brandenburg*, *Breme*, and other sea-cities, from the kings of *Denmark* and *Pole*, are within six miles of this town; and, as men think, they are come not without the Emperor's means. If I should talk of
Madeburg

Madeburg at length, it should require more than a letter. They are thought more strong and stout than they were this day twelvemonth. It is said the Emperor required three persons of *Madeburg*, their chief captain, the count of *Munsfelt*, their chief preacher, *Flacius Illyricus*, and another: but the town would not lose one hair of their heads; and so they say all are forgiven. In this matter of *Madeburg*, and the two princes captives, I cannot as yet assure you the truth; for the matters be now in brewing: but, God willing, ye shall know shortly.

How the good preachers were banished this town the 26th of *August* last, I wrote at large to Mr. *Leaver*. This business, if it were to do, it should not be done now. The Emperor's council lay the doing to the heads of the town; and they lay it again to the bishop of *Arras*, the Emperor's chief counsellor. The papists churches be as desolate as ever they were; and yet here be more sayers than hearers of mass. The protestants constantly will come to neither. They have obtained to christen in *Dutch* as they did, and do marry without mass. Every one in his own house, morning and evening, see their whole household kneel down, and sing psalms, and the good man doth read a chapter of Scripture. Now protestant preachers are sought for; but none dare come, for fear of the former handling.

Ye are weary, I am sure, of my long talk: therefore I bid you all farewell, and I pray you pray for me. Commend me to all my friends in the town. I count good Mr. *Maden*, Mr. *Pember*, and Mr. *Zone*, St. *John's* men. Commend me to Mr. *Redman*, Mr. *Haddon*, Mr. *Blythe*, Mr. *Sanders*, Mr. *Car*, Mr. *Barwick*, &c.; for if I should name all that I would, my paper would not serve. I would I were at your problem-fire when you read this letter; then I would desire Mr. *Downes*, and Mr. *Lector*, to remit the scholars a day of noule and punishment, that they might remember me, that can forget none of that house, praying God to make them all virtuous and learned, and especially in the *Greek* tongue. Fare ye well in Christ.—From *Augusta*, 12 October, 1551.

Yours, R. A.

*Charissimis amicis meis Edwardo Raveno, et Gulielmo Irelando, sociis collegii
Divi Joannis Evang.*

MY good *Raven* and *Ireland*, I leave chiding you, but I will not leave loving you, write you or write you not. I will be your friend, and you shall be mine, whether you will or not.

By Mr. *Leaver's* letters you shall know how all things stand here, of the *Turks*, of the imperials, of the *French*, and of *Germany*. I have not leisure to write twice of one matter; therefore I will him to communicate to you, and then you may do so to other my friends, as Mr. *Maden*, Mr. *Blythe*, Mr. *Haddon*, &c.

Sturmius goeth forward in *Rhetor. Aristot.* The first book is sent to Mr. *Cheke*, which was purposed to me, but I had rather it should be sent to him. Mr. *John Hales*, my singular friend, sent me a piece of his rhetoric this week. I never saw any thing more to be compared with antiquity, and so I trust Mr. *Haddon* will judge. *Vaban* is writing it out a-pace: if he finish it before the post go, ye do receive it; if not now, ye shall have it shortly. *Sturmius* is in hand with *Analysis Ciceron.* such a book as I believe was never set out in our time: *Nobilissimi Worteri fratres* do give him to find him writers 4000 crowns a-year, for four years. *Sturmius* telleth Mr. *Hales*, that a better and more plentiful analysis might be made of the *Greek* tongue; and he would make it, if he had help towards the costs. Mr. *Hales* will write to many of the nobles in it, as he writes unto me; but I wrote unto him, that temporal lords will rather win this praise, than bishops be brought to bear the charges. It were a shame if *England* lack this honour, and all learning this profit.

Ye must either content ye for news with Mr. *Leaver's* letters, or feed ye with the hope of my next to come.

I am sorry Mr. *Langdale* is gone from that college, although he did dissent from us in religion; yet we know that God calleth men at divers hours at his pleasure.

Commend me to good Mr. *Pember*, and tell him I trust he received my letter in Lent. Tell him also, that yesterday I saw a new coin, which I would he had, for all the old he hath. It was made in this house where we lie, at *Inspruck*. It is very like a great *Suffolk* cheese as any cometh to *Sturbridge* fair, but somewhat thicker. It is even so heavy as two men can bear. There was molten for it, of fine silver, (for I saw the making of it) 6400 guilders: every guilder is worth 5 s. *English* and more, except our money be well amended.

Noble *Maximilian* and his wife be come out of *Spain*, and be in *Italy* coming hitherward. This country of *Tyrol*, where we be, which is under *Ferdinando*, doth present this goodly coin to queen *Mary*, *Maximilian's* wife, which is the emperor's daughter, because she was never in *Germany* afore. This rich gift is given for *Maximilian's* sake, whom all men love above measure. There is of one side of this coin all the arms belonging to *Maximilian* and his wife; on the other stands queen *Mary* his wife's face, most lively printed, as the old antiquities be. Above her image be these words in *Latin*: *Sereniss. Duci Reginae Boemiae, ex familiâ Regum Hispaniae, et Archiducum Austriae progenitæ jamprimum in Germaniam venienti Tyrolensium munus, 1551.* And although I favour *Maximilian*, yet I would Mr. *Pember* had it in his chamber. Tell Mr. *Pember* also, I do not forget old coins. I have the fairest now that ever he saw in silver, and *Domitian cum anchorâ Aldi*, the *Fuggeri* have pecks of them. There is a worthy merchant called Mr. *Rem*, which had me into his house, and let me see a wonderful sight *Greek* and *Latin*. He gave me four at my coming from *Augusta*: the first was *Sulla Cos.*; on the other side, *C. Pompeius Rufus F. Cos.*: the second had on the one side, *Fasces Imperii*; on the other side, an elephant, and under his feet *Cæsar*: the third had on the one side, *Cæsar. Imp. Pont. Max. III. Vir.*: the fourth, a goodly face, and about it *M. Brutus Imp.*; on the other side, two daggers, and in the midst a thing like a bell, having written underneath, *Id Martis*. I bought also at *Augusta* a strange old face, with long hair; on the other side, in *Greek*, ΠΥΡΡΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ. Mr. *Rem* shewed me also a coin, with a rude face in silver, thick, and about it, in *Greek*, φιλιππου.

Commend

Commend me to good Mr. *Pember*, and all my friends, because I will leave out none. Commend me to my hostess *Barnes*, Dr. *Maden*, &c. to all at *Wittam*. I tell you once again, Mr. *Stephen Hales* at *London* can convey your letters. Farewell. My lord calls.—From *Inspruck*, the 17th of *November*, 1551. R. A.

I am glad *Vahan* writes to you. By him you shall know more. Gentle *Raven* and *Ireland*, look to my duties for the *Greek* tongue and my oratorship. I would be loth but to hear tell the scholars went forward therein.

F I N I S.

Command me to good Mr. [unclear] and all my friends. I
will leave our names. Command me to my father [unclear] Dr. [unclear]
Go to all at [unclear]. I am your once again Mr. [unclear] [unclear]
how can convey your letters. [unclear] [unclear] [unclear] [unclear]
[unclear] the [unclear] of [unclear] [unclear]



I am glad [unclear] writes to [unclear]
the [unclear] and [unclear] [unclear] to [unclear]
oratorship. I would be [unclear] out [unclear]
[unclear]

